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2577th MEETING: 8 MAY 1985

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CONTENTS

Page

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2577) 1

Adoption of the agenda 1

Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156) 1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2577th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 8 May 1985, at 4 p.m.

President: Mr. Birabhongse KASEMSRI (Thailand).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2577)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156).

The meeting was called to order at 4.25 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council this month, I should like at the very outset to pay a warm tribute, on behalf of the Council and on my own behalf, to my predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, for his dedicated service as President of the Council for the month of April. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing our deep admiration and appreciation to Mr. Arias Stella for the recognized diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

2. As the representative of Thailand, I should also like to express my sincere appreciation to all those representatives who have been kind enough to welcome Thailand as a new member of the Security Council since Thailand took its seat in this Chamber.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156)

3. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Brazil, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Mexico, Nicaragua, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Maciel (Brazil), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Dinka (Ethiopia), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Lweno (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting today in response to the request contained in a letter dated 6 May 1985 from the representative of Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council [*S/17156*]. I should also like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/17163, which contains a letter dated 7 May from the representative of India to the Secretary-General. Members have also received photocopies of a note verbale dated 8 May from the representative of Brazil to the Secretary-General. That note and its annex will be circulated as document S/17166.

5. The first speaker is the representative of Nicaragua, upon whom I call.

6. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) *(interpretation from Spanish):* I wish to begin, Sir, by congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am certain that with your ability, skill and wisdom you will be able successfully to guide the Council's proceedings. I take this opportunity also to congratulate Mr. Arias Stella of Peru—a Latin American colleague with whom we shared concerns, anxiety and disquiet in the Security Council—on the excellent work he did last month as President of this body.

7. I recently told the non-aligned members of the Security Council that on none of the nine occasions on which my country turned to this body had it wanted to be compelled to call for meetings of the Council to denounce the constant acts of aggression against us

resulting from the rash policies of the present United States Administration. I told them also that our justified complaints had become so numerous that they were becoming more permanent than the permanent members of the Council, but that we hoped that this would be the last time we called them together, since we ventured to hope—intuitively, if not through a process of reasoning and intelligence—that the present United States Administration would understand that we must learn from history and from our errors, and not repeat them mechanically.

8. We want you and the international community to judge whether we are right to wish for and aspire to an end to the cruel and inhuman war that we have endured for more than four years. We want it to be you, not we, who decide whether the present United States Administration truly possesses the political will to achieve a negotiated agreement to the problems facing the region, problems which the Contadora Group is working so zealously to solve. So that we can judge on the basis of words and facts, I shall quote statements made in this very Council by various United States representatives.

9. During the March 1983 debate, Mrs. Kirkpatrick said,

> "I should like to reply ... that the United States Government has no aggressive designs against the Government of Nicaragua, against the Nicaraguan people; that the United States indeed has no intention of invading anyone or of conducting an armed action against anyone, or of occupying any other country." [*See 2423rd meeting, para. 168.*]

10. During the debate which followed our complaint of 4 September 1984, Mr. Sorzano said, "I shall conclude by stating once more that the United States is not trying to overthrow the Sandinist Government." [*See 2557th meeting, para. 73.*] So that the implications of that statement may be understood, I shall repeat it: "I shall conclude by stating once more that the United States is not trying to overthrow the Sandinist Government."

11. Only months later, on 21 February 1985 to be exact, the recently re-elected President Reagan, perhaps thinking himself possessed of a divine mandate, replied when asked at his first press conference whether his Administration's aim was to remove the Government of Nicaragua: "Well, remove it in the sense of its present structure, in which it is a communist totalitarian State, and it is not a Government chosen by the people". When asked again whether the aim of the United States was to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government, he said: "Not if the present Government would turn around and say 'all right', if they'd say 'uncle' ", which in American slang is a declaration of surrender.

12. We should like to ask the representatives of the United States, in order to enlighten the international community, this Council and ourselves, to explain whether on those occasions they were unaware of the intention to overthrow us, which was subsequently made public by their President, in the same way as they were unaware of the facts when they denied participation in the mining of the ports, which several days later was publicly acknowledged by high officials of their Government.

13. We should like to ask the representatives of the United States—since they are much given to using inverted Orwellian metaphors—who it is that is corrupting the language. Who is twisting words? Who is trying to undermine legitimacy and to overthrow our Government? Who murders innocent people, who stands for truth, and who lies shamelessly?

14. Until just a few months ago Nicaragua was among the non-permanent members of the Security Council. We participated in the difficult work and deliberations that are the lot of this body. We shared with some members concern at the grave problems affecting mankind and endangering international peace and security. We were aware of the hopes placed by many peoples and Governments of the third world in the decisions of the Council, and we saw and shared their occasional feelings of frustration when solutions to their grave problems could not be found.

15. We feel deep anguish and frustration when, despite our complaints and accusations, despite our desire for peace, we face the imperial intransigence and overwhelming power of those who obstinately and cynically lie—or, at least, hide the truth from their colleagues on the Council and, what is worse, from the international community—and of those who, by abusing their veto power, which they constantly confuse with the power to perpetrate aggression and to harass, arrogantly isolated themselves from the international community during the debate provoked by the mining of our harbours.

16. We understand and share the concern of permanent and non-permanent members of the Council to contribute to a solution of the problems affecting mankind. We too are aware of the imperative need to contribute earnestly to a strengthening of international peace and security and to the effective invigoration of this body and the complete implementation of its resolutions.

17. It is precisely for that reason that we have once again come to the Council to denounce the constant criminal, immoral acts of aggression part and parcel of the dirty, undeclared war waged by the Reagan Administration against our country, which, though poor, small and underdeveloped, has dignity and is non-aligned. We turn to the Council in the hope that the force of reason, sense, wisdom and intelligence will prevail over imperialist intransigence and insensitivity, which, motivated by the desire for domination, endanger international peace and security.

18. For Nicaraguans the objectives of the Reagan Administration with regard to the people's Sandinist revolution have been clear from the very outset. It is precisely that clarity that explains why we have on numerous occasions resorted to the Security Council, the General Assembly and other bodies of the United Nations system, such as the International Court of Justice and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

19. If any members of the international community and any United States experts and politicians had doubts about those objectives, the statement made by President Reagan on 21 February gave a perfect explanation of the goals of the present United States Administration, to achieve which it has used various arguments and pretexts, almost reaching levels of paranoia, to secure the endorsement of its own people and of the international community for its warlike and interventionist policies in Central America, and particularly against Nicaragua.

20. To justify its unlawful actions, the United States Administration has resorted throughout these years to a variety of arguments and pretexts that are prototypes of what the American historian Richard Hosstadter has described as the "paranoic style of United States policy". According to that distinguished historian, characteristics of that paranoic style of government include the characterization of the enemy as an implacable, satanic force; the constant leap of the imagination, always at a critical moment, to analyse the facts in such a way as to take them from the undeniable to the incredible; the extraordinary significance given to rebels against the enemy cause; a magnetic attraction for self-styled intellectuals, who, with pedantic insistence, offer a vision of the facts that is much more coherent than the real world and leaves no room for error, misjudgement or ambiguity; and finally, a sense of urgency, of constantly living at the decisive moment, in a now-or-never situation, in facing up to the conspiracy of enemy forces.

21. I leave it to the representatives of the States members of this Council to judge whether such characteristics are or are not present in current United States policy towards Nicaragua. I leave it to them to judge who is paranoid—the Government of a country with scarcely 3 million people, poor and poorly armed, or the Administration of a super-Power which does not hesitate to decree a national state of emergency to confront what it considers, to quote the actual words of President Reagan, "an unusual and extraordinary threat to the foreign policy and national security of the United States".

22. We do not claim to be able to explain the present United States foreign policy in psychological terms. Suffice it to say that this paranoid style is merely a device by which the present Administration distorts the facts, constantly inventing pretexts or adducing fallacious arguments and masterfully manipulating the mass media in an effort to create in the minds of the American public and the international community the subjective conditions that will permit it to carry out its militaristic plans and justify its imperialist policies and actions in Central America.

23. The first pretext for the refusal of the United States to accept in the Central American region—which it abusively calls its backyard—an independent, democratic and non-aligned State, and for its consequent aim of overthrowing the Nicaraguan Government, was that our country was exporting its revolution to various Central American countries, countries that for decades have been suffering from poverty, misery and oppression. That pretext was used by the Reagan Administration to justify the creation through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of a huge mercenary force, which has been amply financed through the economic resources of the people of the United States. It was used to justify the construction of a large permanent military infrastructure on Honduran territory. It served as justification for the presence of a large number of United States troops on Honduran territory. It was used to establish permanent military manoeuvres with Honduras on land, sea and air and to justify the constant blocking of the peace efforts of the Contadora Group. In sum, it was used to justify the massacre of our people.

24. However, being unable to show that Nicaragua was exporting its revolution to other Central American countries, or that it posed a threat to those countries, the United States Administration, in its zeal to continue to justify its interventionist activities in violation of international law, accused us, among other things, of being totalitarian and repressive. Those and many other falsehoods reflect the paranoid policy of the United States and the Orwellian distortions invoked to justify to the American people and the international community its criminal behaviour in Central America.

25. I shall not at this time dwell on what it has meant for our people to suffer the undeclared and illegal war that the greatest military Power on earth is waging against non-aligned Nicaragua, a proud country that, above all, lives with dignity despite its many sufferings.

26. I shall not go into detail concerning the more than 8,000 victims we have had to add to the long list of martyrs from among our people, nor the more than $1 billion in material damage, nor the many orphans and disabled persons, nor the systematic financial blockade to which we are being subjected on a permanent basis, the latest manifestation of which occurred in the Inter-American Development Bank, with the pressures brought to bear by Mr. Shultz, the Secretary of State, in a letter he addressed to the President of that body. Nor shall I refer to the almost complete reduction of the sugar quota, the closing of our consulates, the mining of our ports and the destruction of fuel tanks in the port of Corinto.

27. By the same token, I shall not elaborate on the illegality and immorality of the almost $100 million given to the CIA for its dirty undeclared war, nor shall I dwell on the military installations which have been built on a massive scale in Honduras in the last two years in the form of training centres, military bases, hospitals, and roads to be used for military purposes. Neither shall I speak at length on the more than 10 massive military manoeuvres, on the nearly constant mini-manoeuvres or on the personnel permanently stationed on Honduran territory, numbering approximately 2,000 men.

28. I merely wish to repeat before the Council that the gigantic resources the United States Government has invested in the Central American region are not aimed at stopping an alleged flow of armaments from Nicaragua or at establishing a democracy in a country that in any event is not United States territory and in whose internal affairs that Government should not interfere. Rather, those funds have been thus invested to compel us—to use the words of the President of the United States—to "say uncle".

29. I cannot fail, on this occasion, to voice grave concern, which I am sure is shared by all members of the Council, at the extremely grave situation confronting the Central American region, and in particular the ever-increasing threats to Nicaragua. We are concerned at the fact that, after its failure to demonstrate a non-existent flow of arms and to prove its trumped-up charges of Nicaraguan intervention, the Government of the United States—which is itself engaged in intervention—has in the last few months increased the level of rhetoric and public threat, presenting us as a danger to its security and strategic interests, and that it has publicly avowed its intention to overthrow us.

30. Such rhetoric to the effect that we have become a threat to the national security of his country has led President Reagan to state that Nicaragua is "the greatest challenge for the United States in the post-war era". How is it possible for a small country of barely 130,000 square kilometres and 3.5 million people—who have suffered so many threats, so much destruction and death—to be such a threat, to be the challenge he tries to depict us to be? If we were to follow President Reagan's thinking, such statements might lead us to conclude that if force was used in Viet Nam, which in its time was also the greatest challenge to the United States, then such force will be used in Nicaragua—and sooner rather than later.

31. Last April marked the tenth anniversary of the victory of the Vietnamese people over the invading troops of the Government of the United States. Ten years of history should have been enough to lead to a reasoned evaluation of the outcome of the policy that was pursued in Viet Nam. However, it would appear that the present United States Administration has not given sufficient thought to what that intervention implied for its people and what it meant for the people of Viet Nam, or the falsehood of the argument that Viet Nam posed a danger to the security of the United States. Calm analysis of these three issues ought to lead the United States Administration to engage in a more constructive policy in the Central American region.

32. Regrettably, instead of learning from history, President Reagan has stubbornly been pursuing a holy war against my country without regard to the means he uses or the damage caused to our people. Fortunately, President Reagan's efforts have come up against growing resistance on the part of the American people and the international community. This was expressed in the United States Congress when it recently refused to grant the present Administration more funds to continue to finance the counter-revolution and thus inflict a blood bath upon the people of Nicaragua.

33. In his attempt to obtain the $14 million for the counter-revolution, President Reagan decided to submit a so-called peace plan for Nicaragua which contemplated approval of the funds by Congress and a commitment to use such funds for humanitarian aid, provided the Government of Nicaragua would commit itself to undertaking negotiations with the assassins of its people—that is, with the former Somozist guards. If those talks did not lead to positive results within 60 days, the funds intended for humanitarian aid would be used for military aid to the counter-revolution.

34. As the President of Nicaragua, Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega Saavedra, said in his letter to the heads of State of the Contadora countries [*S/17098, annex*] that "peace plan"

> "constitutes not only an ultimatum and a dictatorial interference in the affairs of a sovereign country, but also an express and full recognition that the United States Government is pursuing a war of aggression against Nicaragua through an organized army directed and armed by that Government."

President Ortega also said:

> "Nicaragua cannot agree to the ultimatum presented by President Reagan, nor can it accept the interventionist policy of aggression, threats and coercion aimed at making Nicaragua abandon its sovereignty, self-determination and independence. Furthermore, to accept that policy would mean not only to reduce our country to a neo-colonial status as a protectorate, but also to recognize a breach of international law".

In that same letter the President of Nicaragua reaffirmed our support for the Contadora process and demanded that the United States immediately resume the bilateral talks in Manzanillo, Mexico, whereby that country could put forward and discuss any proposal.

35. There is, on the one hand, the correctness of Nicaragua's reply and, on the other, President Reagan's shameless manipulation—in his eagerness to

obtain the $14 million—of statements made by heads of State and other high officials regarding his peace plan, as has been demonstrated in the clarifications and corrections those persons were forced to make before international public opinion which would, in any event, make the most seasoned politician among them blush.

36. Despite all those efforts the results were not favourable to the Administration since, for the time being, the United States Congress has refused to finance the military and paramilitary operations of the mercenary bands. The main reason for this refusal is the fact that, for certain circles in the United States, something which has always been quite clear to us is now becoming apparent: the decision of the current United States Administration to overthrow the legitimate Government of the Republic of Nicaragua by any means, including, if necessary, the use of military force.

37. The vote in the House of Representatives and Nicaragua's reply were two excellent catalysts for responsible and mature thought on a new approach in the relations between the United States and Latin America in general and Nicaragua in particular. That was the ideal time to move from a policy of aggression, domination and power to one of mutual respect, co-operation and understanding—something which no doubt would have led to a genuine relaxation of the tensions with which we have had to live for the past five years.

38. Nevertheless, the bellicose, imperialist attitude of power prevailed. On 1 May this year, the President of the United States notified Congress of his decision to impose a total trade embargo upon Nicaragua. The day before, our Embassy in Washington received a note verbale from the State Department which, in accordance with article XXV, paragraph 3, of the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation[1] between the United States and Nicaragua, declared the termination of that instrument at the end of one year from the date of the note verbale.

39. The latest measures decreed by the Reagan Administration include: "The prohibition of all imports into the United States of goods and services of Nicaraguan origin; all exports from the United States of goods to or destined for Nicaragua, except those destined for the organized democratic resistance, and transactions relating thereto." This democratic resistance, as representatives are aware, is President Reagan's so-called freedom fighters who are conducting a democratic struggle, even though they are torturing and murdering the people of Nicaragua. They also prohibit "Nicaragua carriers from engaging in air transportation to or from points in the United States, and transactions relating thereto". Finally, they prohibit "vessels of Nicaraguan registry from entering into United States ports, and transactions relating thereto".

40. Earlier, I referred to the United States Administration's insistence that the legitimate Government of Nicaragua represents a threat to the security of Central American countries and of the United States, and I stressed the adsurdity of such an assertion. However, and even taking into account that absurdity, the United States Government, in further aggression against Nicaragua, has once again used this form of paranoia in its foreign policy. This time, in the Executive Order taking the coercive economic measures against Nicaragua, President Reagan has decreed "that the policies and actions of the Government of Nicaragua constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States". Therefore, he has declared a national emergency to deal with that threat.

41. I do not think that President Reagan's words deserve further comment by me. I am convinced that the members of the Security Council will know full well how to assess them and will give serious thought to whether Nicaragua, a poor, underdeveloped country, could at any time in its history ever be or ever have been a threat to the United States of America.

42. The measures taken by the Administration are so unreal and out of proportion that it has been impossible for it to convince any country whatsoever of their justice. We have time and again demonstrated that Nicaragua is not and can never be a threat to the security of the United States and that, rather, the reverse is true: the United States constitutes a threat to the very existence of Nicaragua. It is therefore absurd to declare a national emergency on the basis of a threat that exists only in the minds of a handful of United States leaders, including, regrettably, the President of that country. It is the Nicaraguans who have lived in a constant state of emergency. It is we who have had to witness the death of our children, our women and our old people, the destruction of our centres of production, the mining of our ports, the blockade in international banking circles and now, finally, a total economic embargo, which is from everey point of view imperialist and illegal. It is the Nicaraguans who have suffered all this.

43. The United States Government has shamelessly stated that all its actions in Central America, and in particular its actions against Nicaragua, are in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States, which it thus stretches or constrains according to its imperialist objectives.

44. Aware that international law and the principles governing international relations are on our side, our Government went to the International Court of Justice, whose jurisdiction has been rejected by the United States Government, contrary to the obligations it has entered into. We cannot understand why this happened, if United States actions in Central America and against Nicaragua have been governed by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

45. The coercive economic measures recently adopted against Nicaragua are all part of the same

illegal conduct, which violates the fundamental norms governing political and economic relations and co-operation between States. The United States has violated the principle of the self-determination of peoples and the principle that no State may interefere in the internal affairs of another State by attempting to force the people and Government of Nicaragua to submit to it and accept the ignominious conditions laid down by the Reagan Administration for the cessation of its acts of aggression against Nicaragua.

46. The United States has violated the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes betweeen States. It has time and again resorted to force and pressure of all kinds to settle its differences with Nicaragua. Why, if the United States believes that it has the law on its side and that its security is threatened, does it not come before this body and explain to the international community that the small country of Nicaragua is trying to commit aggression against it? Why, if the United States respects international law, does it not use the means for the peaceful settlement of disputes provided for in the Charter? The answers to these questions are quite obvious.

47. The United States has violated the principle that States must fulfil their international obligations in good faith. It did so when it adopted internationally coercive economic measures, thus violating not only the Charter but also the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation entered into by Nicaragua and the United States in January 1956.

48. Also violated has been the charter of the Organization of American States, an organization which the United States itself created and tried to develop in its own image. Article 19 of that charter states the following:

> "No State may use or encourage the use of coercive measures of an economic or political character in order to force the sovereign will of another State and obtain from it advantages of any kind."

49. Many of the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade have also been violated, in particular article I, on general most-favoured nation treatment; article II, on the schedule of concessions; article III, on national treatment of internal taxation and regulations; article V, on freedom of transit in the territory of the contracting parties by whatever means of transportation; article XI, on the general elimination of quantitative restrictions; article XIII, on non-discriminatory administration of quantitative restrictions; article XXXVI, on principles and objectives of trade and development; article XXXVII, on commitments; and article XXXVIII, on joint action by the contracting parties.

50. Therefore my Government has decided to take formal action against the United States Government in this body.

51. Finally, I should like to refer to the violation by the United States of the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation that exists between the two Governments. Article XIV, paragraph 2, of that Treaty states that neither party shall impose prohibitions or restrictions of any kind to the importation of any product of the other party nor to the export of any product coming from the territory of the other party unless the importation of a similar product into all other countries be equally restricted or forbidden. Similarly, article XIX, paragraph 1, of the same Treaty stipulates that there will be freedom of commerce and navigation between the territories of the two parties. Lastly, article XXV, paragraph 3, which the Government of the United States has invoked in denouncing the Treaty, stipulates quite clearly as follows:

> "Either Party, by giving one year's written notice to the other Party, may terminate the present Treaty at the end of the initial ten-year period or at any time thereafter."

That article makes it clear that the Treaty is still in effect and that the measures decreed constitute a flagrant violation of both its spirit and its letter.

52. There is no need to mention the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly that have been disregarded by the Government of the United States in its recent measures taken and decreed against my country. Suffice it to mention only resolution 2625 (XXV), to which is annexed the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; resolution 3281 (XXIX), with the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States; and resolution 39/210, on economic measures as a means of political and economic coercion against developing countries.

53. The measures taken run so counter to international order, and particularly to international economic order and security, that my country, as I have said, is taking formal legal action against the United States under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and is preparing to take action against it in the International Court of Justice. My country also deems it necessary that the Latin American Economic System—an organization dedicated to strengthening co-operation in the region—intervene in the matter, and we have therefore called for it to convene a meeting at the ministerial level.

54. However, I would emphasize that, in addition to our concerns of the moment, we are coming before the Security Council to denounce these coercive economic measures, which violate the Charter of the United Nations, threaten regional peace and security and affect the peace process now under way in Central America, particularly the efforts of the Contadora Group. We wish to point out that the recent embargo decreed by the Government of the United States against Nicaragua

has a clearly political meaning and constitutes an additional step, one with dangerous implications, in the aggression being unleashed by the United States against my country, an aggression whose final objective is the toppling of our revolutionary Government—not to mention other, more serious action, whether economic, military or political, that we may well have to face in the future because of the folly of the present American Administration.

55. In the context of a critical regional situation, the measures in question represent a clear-cut threat to the peace and stability of Central America. At the same time they constitute a hard blow to the process undertaken by the Governments of the Contadora Group, which have for more than two years been making a tremendous effort to find a political and negotiated solution to the grave problems of the region. Furthermore, these measures make more remote the possibilities for the continuation of the bilateral talks that have been held in Manzanillo, Mexico. Against the backdrop of the threat these measures pose to world order and international peace and security, Nicaragua believes that the Security Council should intervene. This clearly political situation and the danger of these actions have been fully understood by many Governments, individuals, congresses and political groupings that have spoken out to reject such measures and are in overwhelming agreement in their thinking.

56. As the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front stated in its message addressed to the people of Nicaragua on 4 May, National Dignity Day, the boycott decreed by President Reagan against our small and proud nation is a premeditated step by the United States Government down the road of direct military intervention against Nicaragua. It may be inferred from the text of the official note of 1 May sent to the Nicaraguan Foreign Office by the United States State Department that, if Nicaragua does not take concrete steps to comply with the requirements set forth in that note, the prospects for a peaceful settlement in Central America will diminish. This means that, if Nicaragua does not bow to the will of the United States, then President Reagan will arrogate to himself the right to engage in military intervention in Nicaragua and to declare total war against us. The message to the people of Nicaragua says:

> "The time has come to hold back, through the force of reason, laws and international norms, the boot that is being used so blindly and unthinkingly to try to destroy this people, to force it to submit, to bring it to its knees. We shall not get down on our knees and bow to any kind of force whatsoever. We shall stand up for the right of weak peoples not to submit to such treatment. Behind the law and reason, which are on our side, is our will to struggle, our will to win, our will to use weapons, the weapons which thousands of patriots are now brandishing in the mountains of Nicaragua, in our cities, small towns, hamlets, centres of production, co-operatives, valleys and villages to defend the homeland which is our right—a right which no one can any longer refuse us."

57. We wish to state once again something that is a central pillar of the foreign policy of my Government, which is based on the policy, principles and tenets of non-alignment. That central pillar is constituted by our open and complete support for the efforts of the Contadora Group; our willingness to sign forthwith the Act of 7 September and scrupulously to abide by all the commitments contained therein, including those concerning the mechanisms for verification and control; and our demand for the immediate resumption of the bilateral talks at Manzanillo, with a view to the restoration of normal relations between the United States and Nicaragua, thus fostering a climate of détente in the area that will be conducive to the success of the efforts of the Contadora Group.

58. Once again we affirm our desire for peace. If the blindness and adventurism of the present United States leaders result in the outbreak of the uncontrollable fires of war in Central America, it will be the peoples of Central America and Latin America, the people of the United States itself and history who deliver the verdict of eternal condemnation, and the hateful recollection of their names will be engraved on the memory of generations of people.

59. Approximately a year ago we requested a meeting of the Security Council to denounce the mining of the Nicaraguan ports, an action carried out by the CIA which ran counter to the right to freedom of navigation and freedom of trade. This represented a qualitative shift in terms of both the level of military involvement, through the participation of United States forces, and its economic implications, since in the throes of panic it tried to blockade my country. The justice and seriousness of our denunciation at that time resulted in the unanimous support of the international community. This was clearly demonstrated by a vote in the Security Council [*2529th meeting*] in which the United States was isolated; there were 13 votes in favour of a draft resolution submitted by my Government, one abstention and only one vote against—that of the United States. We are convinced that at this time, when my Government is facing a situation that is similar to that of a year ago—in which we are the victims of a further escalation of the constant acts of aggression by the United States Government, an escalation that has a negative effect on free trade—the international community, through the Security Council, will support Nicaragua's efforts in the quest for peace in Central America and will reject measures such as those I have described, which infringe the right to self-determination and the right to sovereignty and independence of each and every one of our countries.

60. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United States has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply and I call on him.

61. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): There is much in what the Nicaraguan representative has said that deserves and will have a response. But the United States would prefer to respond tomorrow, when we make our presentation.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

NOTE

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 367, No. 5224.

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UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

FORTIETH YEAR

2578th MEETING: 9 MAY 1985

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Page

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2578) 1

Adoption of the agenda 1

Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156) 1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2578th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 9 May 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Birabhongse KASEMSRI (Thailand)

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2578)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156)

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2577th meeting, I invite the representative of Nicaragua to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Algeria, Brazil, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Mexico, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Maciel (Brazil), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Dinka (Ethiopia), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Lweno (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mongolia, Poland and Zimbabwe in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Mr. Albán-Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Fajardo-Maldonado (Guatemala), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Nyamdoo (Mongolia), Mr. Nowak (Poland) and Mr. Manzou (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

4. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): It is my pleasant duty first of all to convey to you, Sir, the greetings and felicitations of my delegation and myself on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council. Our two countries are linked together by age-old ties of culture and tradition and have close and cordial relations. We admire your diplomatic acumen and notable personal qualities. It is therefore a pleasure to see you guiding our work. We should like to pledge to you the assurance of our fullest co-operation in helping you discharge your onerous responsibilities. I should also like to pay a tribute to Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, who conducted the business of the Council last month with his customary dignity and competence. His was a difficult presidency and he handled his responsibilities with commendable wisdom and skill.

5. This is the eighth occasion in a period of a little over two years on which Nicaragua has felt compelled to have recourse to the Security Council. That fact alone is indicative of the gravity of the steadily deteriorating situation that obtains in Central America and of the sense of insecurity that the Nicaraguan Government and people continue to experience, notwithstanding the understanding and support for and solidarity with their cause the world over. In spite of the valiant efforts of the Contadora Group to find a political solution to the problems of Central America—efforts which reached positive culmination in September of last year—the situation in the region continues to be marked by instability, exacerbated constantly by acts of external interference and pressure which are hardly conducive to the promotion of a political settlement.

6. Two years ago the Council reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security free from outside interference. Resolution 530 (1983) of 19 May 1983, to which I refer, appealed urgently to the interested States to co-operate fully with the Contadora Group through a frank and constructive dialogue so as to resolve their differences and urged the Contadora Group to spare no effort to find solutions to the problems of the region and to keep the Security Council informed of the results of these efforts. That resolution also recalled all the relevant principles of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly those concerning the obligations of States to settle their disputes exclusively by peaceful means, not to resort to the threat or use of force and to respect the self-determination of peoples and the sovereign independence of all States.

7. Regrettably, that important Security Council resolution—as indeed the equally significant resolution adopted in its wake by the General Assembly, resolution 38/10—remains to be implemented. Military action of various types against Nicaragua has intensified. Acts of interference and intervention, direct and indirect, against Nicaragua have continued. Statements have been made which fly directly in the face of the concept of the sovereignty and independence of States. The process of dialogue between two of the States directly concerned has been interrupted. New forms of pressure and coercion have been brought into play. As a result, the people of Nicaragua have been subjected to great hardship and distress, and the economy of the country has suffered considerable disruption and damage. The only silver lining is the fact that the Contadora Group continues resolutely to pursue its objectives—that too in spite of serious road-blocks and attempts to undermine its endeavours.

8. In his statement yesterday [*2577th meeting*] the representative of Nicaragua explained with clarity the developments that have compelled Nicaragua once again to seek redress by the Council of the latest measures taken against that country. The General Assembly has reaffirmed the principle that no State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights and to secure from it advantages of any kind.

9. It is relevant to recall that the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has been asked by the Seventh Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries to monitor closely the events in the Central American subregion. Accordingly, the Bureau met in urgent session two days ago to hear a statement by the representative of Nicaragua and to consider the situation arising out of the latest developments in the Central American context. It issued a communiqué in this regard which has since been circulated in document S/17163. Allow me to quote from it the following excerpts:

"The Bureau ... recalled the ... communiqué of the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau, held at Managua in January 1983, in which the Ministers had condemned the use of pressures and economic sanctions against Nicaragua, as well as the final communiqué of the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly, held in New York in October 1984, in which the Ministers renewed their strong condemnation of the use of economic measures as a means of exerting political and economic coercion against non-aligned countries in violation of their sovereign rights and decisions.

"In this regard, the Bureau strongly condemned the embargo and other coercive economic measures recently adopted against Nicaragua. The Bureau believes that these new acts of political and economic coercion, in addition to the military action, are to be seen in the context of a larger plan to destabilize and topple the Government of Nicaragua and that they further endanger peace and security in the region.

"The Bureau also believes that the aforesaid measures are contrary to the norms that govern the international legal and economic order and that they undermine the efforts carried out by the Contadora Group in the quest for a political and negotiated solution to the serious problems afflicting the Central American region. In this context, the Bureau once again emphasized the need for political and negotiated solutions to the problems of the region. It reiterated its full support for the efforts of the Contadora Group and called on it, in the light of the recently adopted coercive economic measures, to analyse the situation and to accelerate its process of consultations and negotiations with a view to expediting a political solution. In this regard, it also called upon the United States Government to resume the process of bilateral discussions with the Government of Nicaragua towards reaching concrete accords based on mutual respect and the right of self-determination.

"The Bureau reiterated its firm solidarity with Nicaragua and called for an immediate end to all threats, attacks, hostile acts and coercive economic measures against the people and Government of that country."

10. The elements I have just read out represent the essence of the position taken by the non-aligned countries with respect to the trade embargo and other coercive measures adopted against Nicaragua. I can add little to this clear and unequivocal pronouncement on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

11. The Government of India has been following the developments in Central America with serious con-

cern. As we have had occasion to point out on more than one occasion in the past, it is our belief that the cause of the tensions in the region lies in historical factors which have resulted in deep-rooted economic and social ills suffered by the countries of the region. It is the conviction of the Government of India that the tensions and disputes in the Central American region can be resolved only peacefully and through negotiations among all concerned. My Government has welcomed and expressed support for the efforts of the Contadora Group. I should like to reiterate on this occasion that support. We regret that the revised version of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*S/16775, annex*] which had emerged as a result of these efforts could not be concretized and formalized because of new difficulties and obstacles that had arisen. Nevertheless, we hope that, buttressed by the solidarity and support of the entire international community and with the good will and co-operation of all the States concerned, the Contadora Group will be able to reinvigorate its efforts so that these differences can be amicably settled to common satisfaction and the obstacles impeding progress removed. In this context, we look forward to a constructive conclusion of the meeting to be held at Panama City next week with the participation of all the Contadora Group States and the five Central American countries.

12. I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the solidarity of my Government and people with the Government and people of Nicaragua, a friendly and fellow non-aligned country. We respect the right of Nicaragua, as indeed of every State, to be master of its own destiny. We note the will of the Nicaraguan people to mould a new future for their nation, and we support their efforts to build a new society on the basis of their popular revolution, free from all foreign interference or pressure. We affirm the sovereign right of every country to pursue its own political and social economic system.

13. It is our profound conviction that peace in Central America cannot rest on the foundation of policies of intervention, interference and intimidation, or of the threat or use of force, nor of coercive measures of any kind whatsoever. For any peace to be enduring, it must be based on an acceptance of the principles of political and socio-economic pluralism by States not only for themselves, but also for the region as a whole; on scrupulous observance of the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States; and on a positive appreciation of the endemic problems of this troubled part of the world and a constructive and co-operative approach to their resolution. It is incumbent upon the Security Council and all its members to grasp this reality and to shape our actions accordingly.

14. Mr. ARIAS STELLA (Peru) *(interpretation from Spanish):* Mr. President, may I begin by extending to you my delegation's sincerest congratulations on your assumption of the stewardship of our deliberations for the month of May. Knowing, as we do, your intelligence and ability, we are convinced that the Council will be able to achieve positive and fruitful results.

15. We are meeting here at the request of the representative of Nicaragua for the purpose of "considering the extremely serious situation which the Central American region is facing at the present time" [*see S/17156*]. At this time, as has been stated by the representative of Nicaragua, his country has been subjected to unilateral measures of economic coercion and discrimination which might affect fundamental principles of international law and further aggravate the fragile stability that exists in Central America.

16. My delegation wishes to state in this connection that Peru's position is based on considerations of a normative, political and regional nature which I shall now spell out.

17. First, the Charter of the Organization enshrines, among other principles, that of self-determination, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, respect for obligations entered into under international treaties and the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Organization of American States, for its part, in article 19 of its charter, prohibits the use of coercive measures to force the sovereign will of another State.

18. These principles constitute the fundamental basis of Peru's foreign policy. On the international scene that policy is also regulated by the doctrine of non-alignment which requires, *inter alia*, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of all nations and their right to think and act independently.

19. The trade embargo decreed by the United States Government against Nicaragua affects these principles and also ignores the important progress achieved by the international community throughout the long process towards harmonization of inter-State relations. This is the case of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly by resolution 2625 (XXV); the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, in Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX); and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, whose main principle, the most-favoured-nation clause, is thus being infringed. We must also mention our concern at the failure faithfully to abide by the specific procedures provided for in a bilateral instrument in force between the United States and Nicaragua.

20. Therefore, and against the background I have given, the Government of Peru believes that the measures adopted run counter to principles and norms of international law and constitute a major error and an action that is out of proportion in relations between two States, thus evincing the lack of symmetry and the imbalance that characterize political and economic relations within the American continent, where excessive

power is concentrated on one side, with but meagre and fragmented power on the other.

21. The situation we are facing seems to have emerged from an improper assessment of the political priorities on the continent. The conflict in Central America is worsening by virtue of an obvious error of perception with respect to the nature of Latin American problems and of what contemporary relations within the hemisphere should be like. There is an insistence on attributing the conflicts that overwhelm Central America today solely to the East-West confrontation, to the detriment of a more realistic view of the hemisphere that could enable a proper assessment of the obstacles in the way of the development of the Central American peoples and open the way to a responsibility and a task shared by the inter-American community.

22. There seems to be insufficient recognition that today Latin America is going through an extraordinary economic and social crisis, perhaps the greatest in its history. It is overwhelmed by the burden of a foreign debt that is paralysing its productive capacity, to the detriment of the basic needs of its population. The satisfaction of those needs is its first priority and will determine the solidity of the democratic process in Latin America. This profound economic imbalance has a corollary in the political arena, in the instability generated by the progressive accumulation of unsatisfied needs and the flood of demands by the population upon the State institutions. Latin American democracy is being built today in an economic vacuum and in the face of international indifference.

23. Nevertheless, Latin America is striving to do away with the political vices that had associated it for too long with arbitrariness and submission; it is gradually and steadfastly building a regional home for democracy and social justice. Thus today it is taking up the challenges of an international plan for which it has acquired considerable experience and maturity.

24. As an example of this conceptual and political autonomy and as a basic requirement for grasping the problems of Latin America, we must understand the efforts made by the Contadora Group, efforts which are clearly affected by the measures we are discussing today. Contadora, created as the product of the diplomatic imagination and political will of four Latin American countries, interprets regional tradition and feeling through the search for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Central American problem. In this connection, the Government of Peru reiterates its support for the Contadora initiative, which is the sole viable diplomatic option for dealing with the serious tensions affecting the region and for bringing about a genuine democratic order in the whole isthmus.

25. Peru's support for Contadora is not a mere reflex action nor mere loyal adherence to the intense and complex efforts of four friendly countries that today symbolize the Latin American will to carry out its own peace plan in that convulsed region. The Contadora Act is the most serious effort at Latin American regional political interaction in recent times. Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela have shouldered the responsibility of helping the Central American republics determine their own independent and sovereign course. Contadora is truly the sole realistic alternative to war. Our concern, in the context of this debate, is based on the fact that behind the historical lack of understanding that characterizes the unbalanced North-South relationship in the American hemisphere and the threat from the financial community today to the survival of democracy in Latin America lies, despite the positive-sounding rhetoric, a tacit blockade of Latin American diplomacy.

26. If that is allowed to happen, we shall be embarking on a path of no return. To give tangible form to the trend towards postponing *sine die* the Contadora framework for a peaceful settlement—which envisages an overall set of possible solutions to the security, political and socio-economic questions affecting Central America—would only lead directly to the forced isolation of Nicaragua or the erosion of its Government. It is in that context that we must view the economic measures recently taken and, consequently, our rejection of them. My Government believes that they are a serious mistake and that they serve only to confirm the structural lack of understanding from which the political life of this continent suffers so acutely.

27. A few weeks ago our compatriot, the writer Mario Vargas Llosa, drew the conclusion in an essay that Nicaragua is still engaged in the search for final answers, that it is far from being the satellite of any Power and that that country, under strict State control, still has a pluralistic society.

28. Nicaragua's isolation confronts it with a cold-war option, which in our opinion is neither unavoidable nor desired by Nicaragua's leaders. It is the historical duty of Latin America to prevent such a process, so that Nicaragua may move from the outdated East-West context into a new, inter-American agenda.

29. Nicaragua is today at perhaps the most crucial moment of its history. Its Government has expressed its will to strengthen and improve Nicaraguan democratic institutions. Every democracy is a system and a process. As such, it is in a constant state of renewal and is constantly faced with new challenges and obstacles, which must be overcome without outside pressures that can distort the sense of that autonomous quest to which every people has an inherent right.

30. My delegation deeply wishes this hope of America not to be distorted by the present adverse and obsessive circumstances. Hence, we call on the United States and Nicaragua, abiding by the principles on which this world Organization is based and by the tenets of the Contadora Act, to reach a comprehensive and definitive solution to the situation in Central America.

31. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): Mr. President, as this is the first time the Council has met in formal session since you assumed the Chair, I should like to express the great satisfaction it gives my Government, and me personally, to see you presiding over the Council. This is of course a historic occasion for Thailand, as this is the first time Thailand has ever served as President of the Security Council. The United States and Thailand have enjoyed the closest of relations for over a century, and the affection and high regard in which the American people hold Thailand are considerable. My countrymen have a high esteem for the achievements of Thai culture, and they respect the political independence, and the independent-mindedness, of Thailand. Thailand was one of the few countries which escaped the wave of imperial expansion that swept over the world in the latter half of the nineteenth century—in no small part because of the effectiveness of its diplomacy. That legacy of diplomatic skill has a thoroughly worthy practitioner in you, Mr. President. I think it no understatement to say that your diplomatic talents, your knowledge of this institution and your political judgement are much admired in these halls. The Council is indeed privileged to conduct its work this month under your leadership.

32. I should also like to express the gratitude of my delegation for the professional, judicious and fair manner in which your predecessor, the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, conducted his presidency of the Council.

33. As the members of the Security Council are well aware, the Central American question has been before the Council for just over three years. During that brief time the Government of Nicaragua has come before the Council no less than nine times. Today's meeting, therefore, should be seen as an extension of the situation in Central America. In that light it is useful to recapitulate briefly the main themes which have recurred throughout this three-year-long debate, in order to assess which ones have been borne out by the events in the region and which ones have not. That determination will, in turn, help us in appraising the credibility of the new Nicaraguan charges.

34. The nine Nicaraguan requests to convene the Security Council have manifested a tedious regularity and a transparency of purpose. On every occasion that Nicaragua has appeared before the Council, it has sought either to forestall the progress of the Contadora process or to interfere in the internal affairs of the United States by seeking to influence our domestic political debate about Central America. In either case Nicaragua has deliberately misused the Council and converted it into a mini-General-Assembly and a propaganda forum precisely at a time when the Secretary-General, the members of the Council and other concerned United Nations Members have been seeking ways to strengthen the functioning of the United Nations organ principally responsible for international peace and security. These repeated abuses of the Security Council have naturally resulted in a widespread critical appraisal of the effects on the United Nations of Nicaragua's multilateral diplomacy. Despite these feelings, the Council has once again been convened at Nicaragua's request to hear yet another version of its old accusation that Nicaragua is the victim of American aggression and/or that it is in imminent danger of being invaded by the United States.

35. This often-repeated charge ought to be thoroughly discredited by now. The Sandinists have made it a number of times—and I would merely mention these dates: 25 March 1982, 2 April 1982, 15 November 1982, 9 May 1983, 30 March 1984, 2 April 1984, 2 October 1984, 25 October 1984, 9 November 1984, and so on and so forth—but on none of those occasions was the charge made by more prominent a figure than Comandante Ortega, the most authoritative Sandinist spokesman, during the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly last year; nor was any accusation so definitively refuted. It will be remembered that on that occasion [*16th meeting*] Comandante Ortega not only predicted an American invasion of Nicaragua but was so bold as to specify 15 October 1984 as the actual date for that supposed invasion. As we all know, 15 October came and went and the "invasion" failed to materialize. Despite this embarrassment, and despite our patient and repeated denials, Nicaragua still persists in its claim that the United States is preparing an invasion. So let me reiterate here that the United States is not preparing to invade Nicaragua.

36. The prediction of an imminent United States invasion was not, of course, the only Sandinist claim to prove groundless. There have been many others. Their accumulation suggests that, much as in economics, where inflation devalues the currency, the inflated claims of the Sandinists have hopelessly devalued their credibility, to the point that today they are not worth much more than the cordoba, the Nicaraguan currency, which has also experienced a dramatic devaluation under the Sandinist régime.

37. During this same period, before this very Council and in response to the Sandinist allegations previously mentioned, the United States has stated its views about the situation in Central America. We hope we may be forgiven, if at the risk of seeming to be immodest, we point out that our own statements concerning the situation in Central America, and more specifically in Nicaragua, have been borne out by subsequent developments. Let me now proceed to review them.

38. We have often stated our belief that the peoples of Central America have democratic aspirations which, if not arbitrarily repressed, will produce popularly elected Governments even in the face of difficult economic, social and political obstacles. We expressed that view four years ago during the region's darkest moment, when it seemed imprudent just to hope for a small amelioration of the political conditions in the region. We were aware, of course, that our views were not universally shared and that legions of sceptics

doubted the possibility of holding honest and fair elections, of establishing popularly elected Governments and of maintaining a general respect for human rights in the region. But our faith in the strength of the democratic impulse has been vindicated, and the sceptics have been proved wrong by the peoples of Central America which in a number of separate instances have demonstrated their desire, their willingness and their capacity to govern themselves under democratically constituted Governments.

39. During that same period, however, the United States was pointing out to this Council that not all countries in the region were headed in the same democratic direction and that there were increasingly strong signals that the Sandinists were not the idealistic democratic reformers that they were commonly assumed to be. Indeed, early in this debate we described the accumulating indications of the anti-democratic style, spirit and behaviour of the Sandinists. We highlighted their disregard for human and political rights, their denial of pluralism, their contempt for elections and their reliance on violence and naked power to sustain their régime. We suggested that, given their penchant for military uniforms and symbolism, we were witnessing the rebirth—in a transmuted form, to be sure—of the traditional military dictatorship which we all had hoped Nicaragua had finally transcended.

40. Regrettably—for let me be clear that we take no comfort in the accuracy of our predictions—those early predictions have been substantiated not only by such anti-democratic statements as those that I cited during the last General Assembly session, articulated by Commander Bayardo Arce, but by the Nicaraguan people themselves who, on the basis of their comparative experience of Somoza and the Sandinists, have concluded that *el Frente y Somoza son la misma cosa*, which, roughly translated, means "the Sandinist Front and Somoza are the same thing". It is true that today one still finds in some quarters a lingering sympathy for the Sandinists. Yet even in those quarters no one here attempts to defend the farcical "election" held last year by the Sandinists or to claim that the Sandinists are democrats, or even that they have democratic inclinations. As a matter of fact, based on both the overt behaviour and the declarations of the Sandinists themselves, the conclusion is no longer avoidable that the Sandinists are committed Marxist-Leninists intent on converting Nicaragua into another totalitarian satellite of the Soviet Union. On this matter too our early apprehensions have been borne out, and for that reason we do not believe that it was simply a gross tactical mistake for Commander Ortega to have gone to Moscow. In fact, the visit can be regarded as an inadvertent mistake only by those who have been inattentive to both the behaviour and the public statements of the Sandinists. If we take those aspects into consideration, then, the visit was but a logical extension of the very well-defined trajectory of recent months.

41. Over the last four years we have often stated that the Sandinists are bent on the intimidation, destabilization and subversion of their neighbours. The evidence behind this statement is so massive as to be impossible to overlook. When the Sandinists came into power in 1979, and long before the inception of internal armed opposition, Nicaragua launched a military buildup without precedent in Central America. In less than six years the Sandinists have developed a military machine with fire-power and mobility unmatched in the region. By early 1985 their active-duty force had more than 62,000 troops, and their total strength, including all regular, reserve, militia and security forces, now exceeds 119,000, not counting the thousands of Cuban and Soviet-bloc military and security advisers already in Nicaragua. They also have at least 340 tanks and armoured vehicles, more than 70 long-range howitzers and rocket launchers and 30 helicopters, including half a dozen fast, well-armed attack helicopters. Since all these military forces and equipment are disproportionate to the country's population, economy and legitimate defence needs, their real purpose can only be to intimidate and coerce Nicaragua's neighbours, at least one of which does not even have an army.

42. Nicaragua's efforts to destabilize and subvert its neighbours also started soon after the Sandinists came to power, and they continue unabated to this day. In fact, over a period of almost six years, the policies and actions of the Nicaraguan Government have not moderated but have become increasingly aggressive, heightening the threat to neighbouring countries. I need not now recite the long list of Nicaragua's subversive efforts against its neighbours but will confine myself to the most recent one, when just a couple of weeks ago seven agents of the Nicaraguan security service were captured in Honduras. The Nicaraguan agents admitted that this was their third clandestine trip in six months in which they had transported arms from Nicaragua to Honduran guerrillas, whom they also assisted in recruiting and training.

43. Allow me to fill in the picture I have been drawing of the regional developments over the last few years by devoting just a few remarks to the negotiating efforts of the Contadora Group. The United States has, from the inception of the Contadora process, supported it as the best hope for a negotiated and peaceful regional solution for Central America. We still do. But candour requires that we express our continuing scepticism about Nicaragua's commitment to the letter and spirit of Contadora's 21 objectives. We wonder how others can acquiesce in the Sandinists' claim that they accept the Contadora objectives while Nicaragua continues to subvert and destabilize its neighbours, continues to increase disproportionately its war-making potential, continues to reject all attempts at internal reconciliation, continues to develop anti-democratic governmental structures, continues to impose press censorship and continues to drift further away from non-alignment. We urge the Contadora Group to continue in its efforts, and we call on the Sandinists to demonstrate their acceptance of Contadora's 21 objectives by taking concrete measures towards their implementation.

44. To sum up what I have just said, on the one hand we believe our version of the political, military and diplomatic developments in the region over the past few years to be compelling both in its general thrust and in the evidence that can be brought to bear in its support. On the other hand, the Sandinist allegations of American intentions to overthrow their régime or to mount a military invasion of Nicaragua not only lack tangible evidence but have been disproved by the mere passing of the specific dates when the supposed invasions were to take place.

45. Let me now turn to the most recent allegation by Nicaragua, to the effect that our recently imposed trade embargo constitutes an act of aggression and a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the charter of the Organization of American States, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the United States-Nicaragua Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation.[1] Frankly, we regard these as astonishing charges. Let me elaborate.

46. Customary international law does not oblige a State to trade with any other State. Common sense suggests, and international practice confirms, that in general a State is free to choose its own trading partners. In this particular case before the Council there are a number of agreements which set forth rules relevant to continued trade. All of these agreements, without exception, permit a State to exercise its customary law rights and restrict trade in the interest of its own national security. In fact, it would be very surprising if a State were compelled to put its commercial interests ahead of its national security interest. It is hard to believe that many States would accept such a limitation. The United States does not, and the measures we have taken are taken solely under our own sovereign prerogatives. They are carefully tailored so as not to affect third countries or raise questions of extraterritoriality.

47. Our action does not violate the United States-Nicaraguan Friendship, Commerce and Navigation Treaty. Neither does it violate the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Friendship, Commerce and Navigation Treaty contains a provision exempting either party's actions taken in pursuance of "its essential security interests". In article XXI (1) we read:

> "The present Treaty shall not preclude the application of measures ... necessary to fulfil the obligations of a Party for the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security, or necessary to protect its essential security interests".

Similarly, article XXI of the General Agreement expressly permits measures a party "considers necessary for the protection of its essential security interest ... taken in time of war or other emergency in international relations."

48. We are not the first to invoke this provision. In 1961 the Government of Ghana relied on article XXI of the General Agreement to impose a boycott on trade with Portugal because of that country's policies in Angola. The then Ghanaian representative noted:

> "Under this article each contracting party was the sole judge of what was necessary in its essential security interest. There could, therefore, be no objection to Ghana regarding the boycott of goods as justified by security interests. It might be observed that a country's security interests might be threatened by a potential as well as an actual danger. The Ghanaian Government's view was that the situation in Angola was a constant threat to the peace of the African continent and that any action which, by bringing pressure to bear on the Portuguese Government, might lead to a lessening of this danger, was therefore justified in the essential security interests of Ghana."

49. Our actions with regard to Nicaraguan trade, therefore, are not without precedent. As a matter of fact, economic measures of this type are commonly recognized and frequently used as a legitimate foreign policy instrument. Indeed, as I look around the Council I note that there is hardly a member that is not using, has not used, or has not expressed a willingness to use similar measures. Thus, for instance, a number of our Council colleagues who were non-belligerents during the Falklands/Malvinas conflict imposed strict economic sanctions against Argentina. We cannot believe that they are now ready to condemn their own measures as a violation of the Charter and as an illegitimate attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. Neither can we believe that other members of the Council that already have economic sanctions against, restrictions on commercial air traffic with, and embargoes on trade with South Africa are ready to declare that those policies are illegal and contrary to the Charter's provisions. Nor can we believe that a number of other countries that routinely demand the imposition of economic and trade sanctions against selected nations are now willing to concede that those requests are illegal and contrary to the Charter.

50. But that is not all. More pertinent to the case at hand, let me remind the Council that in the exercise of their sovereign rights a number of countries—including members of Contadora—impose now, and have imposed in the past, economic measures against other countries. Finally, let me recall that in 1979 the Sandinists themselves did not object, but, on the contrary, encouraged the imposition of economic sanctions against the Somoza régime, and that, according to a Reuters report of 18 July 1979, the foreign ministers of the five Andean Group countries—Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia and Venezuela—threatened to press for an oil embargo against Nicaragua if the Sandinists were not allowed to come to power. Other regional Powers, including another present member of Contadora, took similar measures.

51. I have made the preceding points not with an accusatory intent, but, rather, to ask for the Council's

understanding that the United States actions with regard to trade with Nicaragua are not dissimilar to the actions that most, if not all, of the Council's members have taken at one time or another. On the face of this, to condemn or, depending on formulations, to deplore or to regret the American embargo of trade with Nicaragua is to set aside truth and fairness and to embrace the double standard.

52. Let me now turn to the draft resolution that has been circulating informally among Council members. The draft resolution, if adopted, would stand both law and logic on its head. It would condemn a United States embargo on American trade with Nicaragua as somehow violative of "the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States", while standing mute in the face of actual massive Nicaraguan intervention in the internal affairs of its neighbouring States in supporting Marxist insurgencies. Those interventions, which we have already catalogued—though, to be sure, not exhaustively—in our earlier presentations before the Security Council, are in violation not only of the principle of non-intervention but of the principle of the prohibition of the use of force, directly or indirectly, against the territorial integrity or political independence of Member States.

53. Specifically, Nicaragua's campaign of subversion and destabilization in Central America has violated Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations, articles 3, 18, 20 and 21 of the revised charter of the Organization of American States, and article 1 of the Rio Treaty.[2]

54. Nicaragua's actions are also contrary to the principles enunciated in paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 290 (IV) of 1949 on the essentials of peace and the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, annexed to Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV).

55. Today, in "Alice in Wonderland" fashion, Nicaragua seeks to divert attention from its campaign of destabilization and interference in the internal affairs of others by attempting to focus attention on the American response.

56. But, clearly, as I have mentioned previously, there is nothing in any bilateral or multilateral agreement to which the United States is party that prevents the United States from—at the very least—taking steps to ensure that its own national conduct, its own trade policy, in no way abets the campaign of subversion which Nicaragua has undertaken. Clearly, the national emergency economic powers invoked by the President of the United States, pursuant to United States law, are testimony to the gravity which we attach to this concern. The United States Government has not only a right, but an obligation, not to aid, however indirectly, the secret war waged in Central America by Nicaragua.

57. If we are to operate in a world where there is no distinction between aggression and self-defence, between subversion and responses thereto—a direction in which the resolution I have been citing would push us—then we shall have totally defeated the great purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the great principles upon which this institution stands. If we permit Nicaragua, which has flagrantly violated not only principles of non-intervention and non-use of force but also the self-determination and human rights provisions of the Charter—a Government which has refused to implement the provisions of the extraordinary Organization of American States resolution which gave it legitimacy—if we permit such a Government to cover over its aggressive conduct by characterizing United States trade actions taken in response as illegal, then, surely, we are seriously damaging the very foundations of this institution.

58. Finally, allow me to express what the United States Government and the American people desire and hope for the Nicaraguan people. I can find no better expression than the 30 April 1985 editorial in the Nicaraguan newspaper *La Prensa* that did not see the light of day because it was censored in its entirety by the Sandinist Office of Communication. Given the Sandinist fondness for extensive quotations from American publications, I believe it fitting that I should now quote to them from *La Prensa*. Indeed, it is my distinct honour to do so and in so doing to demonstrate to the world that, despite the tightening Sandinist oppression, the spirit of freedom, honour and independence is still very much alive amongst the Nicaraguan people.

59. The editorial is entitled "Ten points which won't be found in Moscow" and reads as follows:

> "After the Congressional denial of President Reagan's request for $14 million, it is not in Russia where the solution to the tremendous problems of Nicaragua will be found or where peace will be obtained. As much as Russia might want (for its own interest as a major Power) to help us, our orbit is in the American continent; our neighbourhood is democratic and our economic destruction already so profound that we would continue in decline, socializing misery and ruining ourselves for a fanatical ideological whim that we wish to call 'sovereignty'.
>
> "In order to pay Russia for its favours we will have to accentuate our pro-Soviet alignment, and it is as much a lack of sovereignty to fall into the claws of the eagle as it is to fall into the paws of the bear.
>
> "The destruction in Nicaragua will not stop, nor will Nicaraguans cease to perish because of a treaty with Moscow. The only treaty that can save us is one that all Nicaraguans sign.
>
> "The following are the ten basic points of such a treaty:
>
> "1. A true non-alignment;

"2. The reign of law, without retroactive laws, with judicial procedures, respect for human rights and with the freedom to denounce abuses and to find protection from abuses;

"3. The political neutrality of the army and the police;

"4. The elimination of the Committees for the Defence of Sandinism, instruments of partisan pressure against the freedom of the citizen and obstacles impossible to overcome for the functioning of democracy;

"5. Total religious freedom (the State must respect absolutely the realm of faith and conscience and the work of the Christian churches);

"6. Educational freedom and the inalienable right of parents to choose for their children the education they want;

"7. A mixed economy, which is not a matter simply defined as the percentage of private property that exists, but rather the legal protection of the entrepreneur and property owner, which are currently subject to arbitrary confiscation and the lawless intervention of the State. For this reason, this point requires revision of all unjust expropriations;

"8. Freedom of expression, and freedom of organization and of assembly for political parties. The right of access to the electronic media (television). Strict equality of access for the party in power and all other parties;

"9. Free trade unions;

"10. Total and complete amnesty."

The editorial concludes:

"These are the ten basic points for the attainment of peace, a peace which is not in Manzanillo, nor in Moscow, but in Nicaragua; it is to save the revolution that belongs to all Nicaraguans, the deviation from which is causing us death and destruction. They are the ten points for Nicaragua's return to a democratic republican Government."

60. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Mexico. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

61. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) *(interpretation from Spanish):* On behalf of my delegation, I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, a high post reflecting the great virtues of impartiality and fine diplomatic skill that you possess. We are convinced that you will be able to guide this debate to a positive conclusion, a debate that is so crucial for the future of international relations and the stability of our hemisphere.

62. I thank the members of the Council for this opportunity once again to speak about the grave concern of the Government of Mexico over the sensitive situation prevailing in Central America, a situation which runs the risk of becoming even more serious owing to actions that jeopardize the international legal order and the right of peoples to self-determination and undermine diplomatic channels for negotiation and understanding between the parties.

63. At the beginning of the debate [*2577th meeting*] we listened to the statement of the representative of Nicaragua, in which he considered some of the main events of the Central American crisis and the recent measures which greatly affect his country and which, by and large, have been interpreted as an escalation of regional tensions and a coercive measure against a State Member of the Organization taken in violation of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

64. It is a publicly known fact that as from 7 May the United States Government suspended its trade relations with Nicaragua, including cancellation of sea and air navigation between the two nations.

65. The proscription of coercive economic measures aimed at putting pressure on the sovereign will of a State is one of the fundamental principles of international law that has been enshrined in numerous multilateral agreements and instruments.

66. We would refer to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted in 1970 by the General Assembly by resolution 2625 (XXV), which stipulates:

> "No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are in violation of international law.
>
> "No State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights and to secure from it advantages of any kind.
>
> . . .
>
> "States shall conduct their international relations in the economic, social, cultural, technical and trade fields in accordance with the principles of sovereign equality and non-intervention".

67. The inter-American system is itself based on the principle of non-intervention. The charter of the Organization of American States lays down in article 19 that

> "No State may use or encourage the use of coercive measures of an economic or political character in order to force the sovereign will of another State and obtain from it advantages of any kind."

68. In addition, the Latin American Economic System has on a number of occasions considered the question of coercive measures. In September 1983, at its ninth special session, it condemned the application of such measures against countries of the region. At its tenth regular session, held in October 1984, the Latin American Council adopted another decision on coercive measures, in which it recalled the commitments undertaken by the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and affirmed that the application of such measures undermined the peacemaking efforts of the Contadora Group.

69. Furthermore, there is a norm of customary international law to the effect that in times of peace trade ports should be open to international traffic and that access to such ports by vessels cannot be prevented in a discriminatory fashion because of their nationality.

70. In keeping with the relevant provisions of the Charter, the Security Council must determine in the light of the facts the measures that should be adopted to guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States and to establish peace and security in the Central American region.

71. Mexico deplores the fact that the diplomatic efforts undertaken by our Government to safeguard the essential principles of international coexistence in the geographical and cultural area closest to us to are impeded by acts of force. We know that our position is in keeping with the unanimous attitude of the international community in favour of a peaceful solution to the Central American conflict and with the historic determination of the peoples of Latin America to defend their sovereignty and independence in the context of international respect and co-operation.

72. At the end of September last year, at San José, Costa Rica, there was a joint meeting of the foreign ministers of Central American countries, the member countries of the European Economic Community, Spain, Portugal and the Contadora Group. Speaking on behalf of the latter, the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs said, "With respect to economic and social development, the Contadora Act gives expression to understandings in favour of development and Central American integration" and also contains "obligations to promote trade on an intrazonal and extraregional basis, and proscribes coercion in economic relations and discriminatory practices which are an obstacle to trade and economic ties between the countries".

73. At that meeting a proposal was made to activate co-operation between the countries of Western Europe and Central America in keeping with the support that such nations have consistently offered to the Contadora process. The participants emphasized the urgent need to promote trade between Central American countries and Europe, North America, Japan and Latin America. It is important to avoid any violation of the spirit and the letter of the commitments made in San José.

74. The principal aim of the Government of Mexico has been to guarantee in the Central American region, as in any other region, the right of self-determination and its practical corollary, political pluralism—pluralism that will make possible in each country the development of its own social organization and ensure for each State full sovereignty over its political and economic processes as well as the greatest freedom in their international relations.

75. Ideological differences between countries, like the diversity of their social traditions and structures, should not be made a reason for confrontation. In a complex and diverse world, international relations must be based on tolerance, genuine co-operation and justice, and all forms of discrimination, hostility and exclusivity must be set aside. Contemporary history has much to teach us regarding the grave dangers of acting in a way that runs counter to that objective.

76. Following the events that led to this debate the Government of Mexico formulated a statement in which it repeated that the harmonization of political agreements between the parties involved was the only appropriate way to settle the conflicts in the Central American region. My country stressed the urgent need to prevent tensions that might lead to confrontations and to avoid any friction that might lead to a generalized conflict in the area with consequences that would extend far beyond the Central American borders.

77. Mexico, together with the countries which have committed themselves to the Contadora process, has been promoting a responsible dialogue among all the States of the area, on political coexistence on the basis of mutual respect and economic and social co-operation. We want to prevent the Central American conflict from becoming one more element in the East-West confrontation. We have therefore reaffirmed the principle of non-alignment as the formula for peaceful, orderly and harmonious coexistence in Central America. Our ultimate purpose has been to put forward strictly Latin American formulas to solve the problems that must be dealt with and resolved by us alone.

78. Furthermore, Mexico has advocated the establishment of a frank, constructive dialogue on a basis of equality between the United States and Nicaragua and has offered the hospitality of its own territory for this purpose. The Manzanillo talks embodied the effective possibility of solving, by means of negotiations based on mutual respect, the differences between two sovereign States with which we maintain strong relations of friendship and co-operation.

79. At one time this dialogue led to a climate of détente and provided a basis for understanding which

could be strengthened relatively easily if the contacts could be resumed. We could once again set in motion the appropriate political mechanism to settle existing disagreements in a civilized way and prevent aggressive acts such as those which this Council now has to consider.

80. Mexico insists that regional differences must be resolved in keeping with the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter. Economic coercion is incompatible with the objectives pursued in the process begun by Contadora. We renew our call to all States to respond effectively and clearly to the diplomatic action that we have undertaken. We invite the countries concerned to resume in a framework of dignity the dialogue that was interrupted.

81. The Central American crisis has been the subject of consideration by the Council for several years now and has also been on the agenda of the General Assembly. In its resolution 39/4, of 26 October 1984, the Assembly urged "all States, in particular those with ties to and interests in the region, to respect fully the purposes and principles of the Contadora Act."

82. Despite the unequivocal and unanimous pronouncement of the international community, aggressive designs are still clearly standing in the way of the Contadora peace-making efforts in Central America. The time has come to choose between peace and war, between imposition and dialogue, between lasting principles and transient passions.

83. Scrupulous respect for the principles of law and the practice of diplomatic negotiation in the search for genuine solutions to the problems of our time should be the constant norm in Member States. This is the best way of commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations: it should be celebrated not by ceremonies but by political decisions that confirm our desire for peace and justice.

84. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* I am very pleased to see you, Sir, the distinguished representative of Thailand, a friendly neighbouring country of China, presiding over the meeting. The Chinese delegation warmly congratulates you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are sure that with your outstanding talent and rich experience in diplomacy you will enable the Council to accomplish the important tasks facing it in May in an excellent manner. I wish also to take this opportunity to express our thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, for his valuable contributions made during his tenure of the presidency of the Council last month.

85. The international community has always been much concerned with the situation in Central America. The Security Council has been seized of this issue many times before and emphatically reaffirmed in its resolution 530 (1983) "the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference".

86. Both the Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted resolutions firmly supporting the effort made by the Contadora Group in seeking a peaceful solution to the Central American issue and urging all the parties concerned to render their co-operation to the Contadora Group. However, what bothers us is the fact that the United Nations resolutions on respecting the independence and sovereignty of all the countries of Central America have not been fully implemented and that there still exist various forms of outside interference, resulting in a continuously turbulent and intranquil situation in that region.

87. Recently the United States declared that it would impose a trade embargo against Nicaragua, which caused further deterioration in the relations between the two countries. Many countries have expressed their concern in this regard. The Chinese delegation has consistently advocated that disputes between States should be settled through peaceful negotiations in accordance with the basic norms guiding international relations and on a basis of equality. We maintain that the interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua by the United States and its exertion of pressure on Nicaragua by imposing a trade embargo and through other measures constitute violations of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and will aggravate the tension in Central America, to the detriment of the peaceful solution of the problem of the region.

88. The Chinese delegation is of the view that the Central American question should be settled on a fair and just basis by the Central American countries through negotiations in accordance with the principles of non-interference in one another's internal affairs and national self-determination and free from any outside interference. The Contadora Group has made unremitting efforts in promoting a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the disputes among the parties concerned and has thus won widespread praise from the international community. The Chinese delegation wishes to reiterate here that China resolutely supports the Contadora Group in its effort for a peaceful solution of the Central American issue and hopes that the United States and the other parties concerned will respond with concrete actions to the call of the Contadora peace efforts so that the tension in Central America may be relaxed.

89. Mr. BIERRING (Denmark): Mr. President, first I wish to congratulate you most sincerely on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I am sure that with your rich experience in diplomacy you will make a valuable contribution to the work of the Council, and I can assure you of the co-operation of the Danish delegation. Furthermore, you represent a country with which Denmark has always had special ties of friendship and co-operation.

I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity to express my admiration for the outstanding way in which your predecessor, the representative of Peru, Mr. Arias Stella, carried out his responsibilities last month.

90. Once again the Council is seized of the serious situation in the Central American region. Acts of violence leading to loss of human lives, misery and violation of human rights have long been a fact of daily life. The tense situation has for several years attracted the attention of the world and has been a cause of great concern to us all.

91. The crisis in Central America is closely related to the processes of change in which the countries of the region are immersed. The centuries-old social and economic injustices and oppression are at the root of the present situation. Just and durable solutions to the social inequalities and economic underdevelopment cannot be achieved by armed force, or by any other form of coercion. The escalation of violence offers no hope to the peoples of the region. Only economic and social reforms, a more equitable distribution of resources and a commitment to democratic systems of government through free elections can solve the underlying problems of the countries concerned. Respect for the fundamental principles of non-interference, the inviolability of national frontiers, self-determination without external pressure and the settlement of conflicts by peaceful means through negotiation is of overriding importance. Nothing is gained by drawing the problems of the area into an East-West context.

92. The main responsibility for the solution of regional problems lies with the countries in the region itself. My Government has therefore fully supported the peace efforts of the Contadora Group since they were initiated. The Contadora process constitutes a political and diplomatic effort with a potential for achievements of the greatest significance. The four Contadora countries, in close collaboration with all the Central American Governments concerned, have shown a persistent readiness to continue the process, despite difficulties encountered, and have indeed obtained remarkable results. But it is a fragile undertaking and demands of all parties directly or indirectly involved the utmost flexibility and restraint.

93. The Contadora process has gained support from the whole international community, without exception. In its unanimously adopted resolution 530 (1983), the Security Council commended the efforts of the Contadora Group and appealed urgently to the interested States to co-operate fully with the Group, while at the same time reaffirming the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference. These positions have since been supported in resolutions by the General Assembly, also adopted unanimously. This international consensus and support of the Contadora effort must be maintained.

94. Last September a conference of foreign ministers was held at San José between the States members of the European Community, Portugal and Spain, the States of Central America and the Contadora States. In the joint communiqué which was issued from that meeting the ministers reaffirmed their commitment to the objectives of peace, democracy, security and economic and social development and political stability in Central America. They inaugurated on that occasion a new structure of political and economic dialogue between Europe and Central America. The ministers also agreed to extend and diversify their mutual trade to the fullest possible extent and, taking into account the importance of economic development for the countries of Central America, the Community committed itself to do everything possible towards the development of the region within the context of its present and future programmes in support of developing countries.

95. In line with the belief in the value of trade and economic co-operation as expressed in the San José communiqué, my Government is of the firm view that the imposition of economic sanctions—though not violating general international law—will in no way help in solving the problems and reducing the conflicts of the region. It is understandable that the long-standing situation of instability and unrest in the region gives cause for concern to neighbouring countries. However, tension in the region will increase, and the embargo puts the Contadora process in serious jeopardy, thereby diminishing the only real hope for peace and prosperity in Central America.

96. The United States has demonstrated in the past, in the most magnanimous way, its readiness and ability to mount large-scale assistance to countries and regions in distress. The time has come to transform the crisis in Central America into an opportunity: to seize the impetus it provides and to use it not only to help the countries of the region to secure their freedom from aggression and violence but also to help them with their social and economic development.

97. Meanwhile we urgently appeal to the parties to refrain from any action which will further aggravate the situation.

98. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(interpretation from Russian):* First, I welcome you, Sir, the representative of Thailand, to the responsible post of President of the Security Council. We are certain that with your customary diplomatic acumen you will continue to guide the work of the Council this month successfully. I take this opportunity also to express our gratitude to the representative of Peru, Mr. Arias Stella, for the skilful—I would say masterly—way in which he carried out the functions of President during the month of April, which was by no means an easy month from the point of view of the Council's work.

99. Today is a special day for all mankind and for the United Nations. The peoples of the world are cele-

brating the fortieth anniversary of the victorious conclusion of the struggle against fascism, which had set out to gain world supremacy. That world-wide, historic victory was gained through the common efforts of various countries. In commemorating this great victory, the Soviet people, who contributed decisively to the overthrow of fascism in annihilating more than 70 per cent of Hitler's divisions, have not forgotten the major contribution made to the struggle against our common enemy by the peoples of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, the fighters in the national liberation armies, the partisans, the members of the underground, and those who participated in anti-fascist insurgencies and the resistance movement.

100. The military alliance that came about during the years of the war demonstrated the potential for co-operation that is inherent in the joint struggle for peace and a better future for mankind. Today a message has been issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. Its title is "To the Peoples, Parliaments and Governments of All Countries" on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War. This message emphasizes that "one of the main lessons that have been learned is that aggression has to be resolutely and concertedly combated before the actual flames of war flare up."

101. Today, the Soviet Union is appealing to all peoples, parliaments and Governments to heed the voice of reason and, through joint and active efforts, to halt the gradual trend towards the abyss of nuclear catastrophe and to bar the way to a new war.

102. An important part in all this undoubtedly will have to be played by the United Nations. The message to which I have referred goes on to indicate that it is in the common interest of all countries to promote the enhanced effectiveness of the United Nations as an international tool for peace and security among peoples and in the implementation of the lofty goal proclaimed in its Charter: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to ensure that peoples live together in the world as good neighbours.

103. The delegation of the Soviet Union supported Nicaragua's request for an urgent meeting of the Security Council. We listened carefully to the statement made in this chamber by the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora. The facts cited in that excellently planned and balanced statement confirm that this request was well founded.

104. The tremendous alarm felt at the state of affairs in Central America has been quite clearly expressed today in the statements of a number of other States Members of the United Nations. Many speakers have expressed the general view of the Movement of Non-Aligned Contries, comprising approximately 100 States of the world. On 7 May this year, the Co-ordinating Bureau of that Movement considered the dangerous situation surrounding Nicaragua and categorically condemned the lawless actions directed against that country. In our opinion, the sentiments expressed in the communiqué adopted at that meeting [*S/17163, annex*] are completely warranted.

105. Over the past four years, problems connected with the situation in Central America have been a constant feature of the agenda of the Security Council. We have seen that, despite existing United Nations resolutions, the situation in that part of the world continues to deteriorate. It is becoming an increasingly dangerous source of international tension. There is one reason for this: the further escalation of anti-Nicaraguan action on the part of the United States, action aimed at interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State and at the toppling of its legal Government. Preparations for the expansion of armed operations carried out by the Somozists and their allies are being accelerated and directly co-ordinated by United States personnel.

106. The spring of this year has been characterized by a further round in preparations by the United States forces in Central America, with clearly interventionist intentions. Evidence of this is the unprecedented number of United States servicemen who were assigned to that part of the world during the "Big Pine" and "Universal Trek" manoeuvres, as well as the fact that United States armoured technology has appeared here and that landing operations are being further perfected. The territories of certain Central American States are being turned more and more into a springboard for a devastating anti-Nicaraguan war.

107. Having embarked on the course of solving the problem of Central America by force, the United States has engaged in tactics of openly blocking any ways and means of effecting a political settlement in that part of the world. It is precisely the fault of the United States that the United States-Nicaraguan talks were broken off and that the peace efforts of the Contadora Group have been thwarted under contrived pretexts. Offhandedly, without backing its position up by any argumentation, Washington has rejected all constructive proposals made by the Nicaraguan Government and has ignored all its tenders of good will.

108. From time to time, pursuing obviously tactical purposes, the United States has not shrunk from resorting to manoeuvres designed to obfuscate the new, even more dangerous stage that has been reached in its aggressive policy in that part of the world. Under the guise of so-called peace plans, what is in fact being requested is a change once again in the internal structure of Nicaragua, changes in its foreign policy. A sovereign country is being instructed, in the form of an ultimatum, about which States it may maintain relations with and which States it may not maintain relations with. As was aptly stated in this connection by the President of Colombia, Belisario Betancur, these plans are no more and no less than "preparations for war".

109. It is a fact that it has become a matter of public record that there are plans to increase the total strength of counter-revolutionary units to a total of 35,000. At the same time, it has been directly acknowledged that there is a possibility that United States armed forces may be used against Nicaragua if Nicaragua does not yield to crude pressure and blackmail.

110. At the same time, as we know from information that has reached us, the Pentagon is actively working out the details of further military action to be carried out in Central America, based on its "experience" in Lebanon and Grenada. It would seem that the lessons of the not-so-distant past, including the past of 10 years ago, have not been properly learned. What the ancients said was true: whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

111. All these acts have been carried out openly, flouting generally recognized principles of morality, international law and the Charter of the United Nations. Such a course of action cannot but arouse legitimate concern throughout the world and growing alarm and indignation within the United States itself.

112. The latest link in the chain of lawless actions was the imposition by the United States of a trade embargo and other discriminatory economic measures against Nicaragua. All this has been done in spite of established international principles and the bilateral and multilateral commitments entered into by the United States within the framework of the United Nations, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and other organizations. The clear purpose here is to damage the economy of a developing country and to bring its people to their knees by means of a trade blockade. It has not been concealed that these actions are intended to bolster the general interventionist policy practised against Nicaragua.

113. It is well known that unilateral political limitations on trade and arbitrary boycotts or sanctions of any kind create an atmosphere of tension and mistrust in international economic relations and undermine the legal basis of those relations.

114. In this connection it is not inappropriate to recall once again that, while imposing embargoes and blockades against States unwilling to act at the behest of Washington, the United States has for many years now stubbornly defended the racist régime of Pretoria against the imposition by the Security Council of effective international sanctions.

115. We should be very grateful to the United States delegation if it could explain to the Council why, whenever the question of imposing sanctions against South Africa arises, United States representatives assert that such action would not yield the desired result. They have claimed that what is needed in the case of the *apartheid* régime is "dialogue and constructive engagement". But in the case of Nicaragua sanctions have been imposed with consummate ease, with the obvious intention of precluding any possibility of a dialogue and the peaceful solution of the problem.

116. The statement made today by the representative of the United States only corroborates the arguments put forward by Nicaragua. The basic purpose of that statement was to attempt to justify increasing intervention by the United States in the affairs of that small country. He tried to "explain" why the United States should be interfering in the affairs of another country, but he said nothing about the main point at issue—who gave Washington the right to carry out such intervention? That is a question to which the Security Council would like an answer. So far it has received none.

117. The representative of the United States accused Nicaragua of some sort of intervention in the affairs of its neighbours. One wonders why those neighbours and other Latin American countries either have been silent or have spoken out against United States activities. Finally, when he asserted that some sort of special relationship exists between Nicaragua and the Soviet Union, the representative of the United States could cite only one fact: that President Ortega had visited Moscow. It would be rather stretching things to consider every visit by a head of State to another country's capital to be some sort of subversive activity. I think, by the way, that tomorrow President Ortega will be in Madrid.

118. The present events around Nicaragua must necessarily be considered in a broader context. As emphasized in his statement of 23 April this year by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev,

> "The United States openly claims the 'right' to intervene everywhere while ignoring, and sometimes riding roughshod over, the interests of other countries and peoples, as well as the traditions of international relations and existing treaties and agreements. It constantly creates sources of conflict and the threat of war by exacerbating the situation first in one part of the world, then in another. Today the United States is threatening the heroic people of Nicaragua with military violence, trying to deprive it of its freedom and sovereignty, as it did in the case of the people of Grenada."

119. The Soviet Union categorically rejects and condemns the policy of aggression, intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and State terrorism which is being pursued against that country. It rises in defence of the inalienable rights of the Nicaraguan people to free, democratic and independent development, and it stands firmly behind that people in its struggle against the aggressive inroads of imperialism. This approach, which we maintain as a matter of principle, was confirmed during the recent visit to our country of a delegation from Nicaragua, headed by President Ortega.

120. A solution to the problems of Central America will be found not through strong-arm methods, ultimatums or embargoes, but only by seeking a peaceful settlement through negotiations, taking into account the legitimate interests of all countries in the area and respecting their sovereignty. It is still not too late to return to the path set out in the Charter of the United Nations. That is why the Soviet Union is in favour of giving a further impetus to the activities of the Contadora Group and supports the initiatives of the Government of Nicaragua aimed at initiating dialogue and removing the state of tension from Central America.

121. Indeed, that position cannot but be shared by all who truly cherish the ideal of peace and genuinely acknowledge and defend the principles of the Charter. This is what is demanded by United Nations consensus decisions on the situation in Central America, including Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolutions 38/10 and 39/4. This is made abundantly clear by the violent reaction throughout the world to the most recent steps taken by the current Administration in Washington.

122. In our opinion, the Security Council will be acting correctly and responsibly if it demands that the rights of Nicaragua be respected like those of other countries, including its right freely to determine its own political, economic and social system, and if it condemns intervention in the affairs of Central America and the illegal imposition of economic embargoes and calls for an immediate end to those actions.

123. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): Mr. President, I could speak about the ties that link our two countries, but it is sufficient to say that I am delighted to congratulate you, as the distinguished representative of a country of the south-east Asian region, a region of which Australia regards itself as a part, on your assumption of the presidency and to assure you of my delegation's confidence that you will discharge your duties with great distinction. I should also like to express our appreciation to the President for April, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for discharging his duties so skilfully and effectively.

124. We are considering today developments in a region with a long history of violence and insecurity. It is a region with serious economic, social and political problems stemming from centuries of exploitation and injustice. The problems of the region may not be new, but they are serious, and the international community has an obligation to take a responsible interest in developments in Central America, as well as doing what it can to help better the lot of the peoples of that region.

125. My country is situated far from Central America, but our membership in the Security Council places upon us an obligation to play a constructive and responsible role in the search for peaceful solutions to those issues which come before the Council.

126. Australia's views on the situation have been clearly expressed on a number of occasions over the last year or so. We have pointed to the existence of unjust economic and social situations as the basic source of the region's problems, and we have urged that the East-West conflict be kept out of Central America. We have called on all countries to support the actions of the Contadora Group, which is seeking a peaceful and negotiated solution to the conflicts of the region. We have noted the concern of the Contadora countries themselves and of others with close ties to the region—such as Canada, Peru, Brazil, Argentina and Mexico—that this process should not be placed in jeopardy. Solutions to the problems of the region can come only from the people of the region themselves; they cannot be imposed from outside.

127. The Security Council should do all it can to support this process of negotiation. While it is the Contadora Group which is doing the hard work, the Council can support it by pointing to the principles and practices which should guide all States involved. Most importantly, all States should fulfil, in good faith, their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, including the obligation to settle international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered.

128. In applying these general principles to the particular case of Central America, we can make certain observations. All Central American countries have the right to live in peace and security, free from outside interference. This principle was restated in Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and remains valid today. Nicaragua has the right to choose its own form of Government, without outside interference. The use of force to resolve disputes is to be deplored, no matter who uses it. The cycle of violence in Central America must be stopped. The Contadora process should be fully supported by all States, not just in their rhetoric, but also in their actions. Trade sanctions in this case will not, in our opinion, achieve the end they are supposed to achieve, but are likely to have the opposite effect —that is, to increase tensions and thus hinder the Contadora process.

129. My delegation listened attentively to the statements of preceding speakers. Australia understands United States concerns in the region and does not deny that the United States has a right to be concerned about what is happening so close to its own borders. It is natural for all countries to be concerned about what is happening in their neighbourhood. It is in this context that the Australian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister have made clear that they do not consider the imposition of trade sanctions to be an appropriate action in the circumstances. The Australian Government regrets that this step was taken.

130. To conclude, I make a plea to all countries involved to refrain from violence or the support of violence in Central America. Australia calls on all parties to avoid provocative actions which may increase tensions or complicate the search for a peaceful solution to the problems of the region.

131. Australia expresses the solemn hope that all parties will embrace the process of dialogue and negotiation in the conduct of their relations. By such means they can work together for political, economic and social reforms, as necessary steps towards the emergence of stable Governments, supported by democratic choice throughout the region, and for a much-desired improvement of human rights. That is the objective to which all parties should dedicate themselves. That is the objective which all parties should strive to achieve. Australia hopes that this debate in the Security Council will play some part in the achievement of those objectives.

132. Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) *(interpretation from French):* It is a pleasure to join previous speakers, Mr. President, in warmly congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency. I scarcely need to refer to the ancient ties of friendship that link our countries. Having had the pleasure of getting to know you better over a number of months, thanks to our friendly contacts, I know that your sense of negotiation and your flexible but effective authority will serve you well during your period as President. I should also like, Sir, to tell your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, that his term of office as President was much appreciated by my delegation. His diplomatic experience and his natural courtesy had a very positive impact on our negotiations. He knows, as I do, of the excellent relations that have united our two nations for some time—indeed, from the very beginning.

133. I should be remiss if I failed to remind the Council of the concern caused to my Government by any increase in tension in Central America, whatever its origin.

134. When military actions led the Security Council to adopt resolution 530 (1983) in May 1983, we were pleased that certain fundamental principles of the Charter were unanimously reaffirmed by members of the Council, particularly, in the fourth preambular paragraph, "the obligation of States to settle their disputes exclusively by peaceful means".

135. That unanimity about the need to find a means to bring about peaceful developments in Central America and about support for the efforts of the Contadora Group were also expressed at the last two sessions of the General Assembly, in its resolutions 38/10 and 39/4.

136. That is the course of action we wish to see taken in order to find a lasting regional solution in Central America. The conclusion and implementation of the Contadora Act would enable all the countries of Central America to develop along the lines freely chosen by their populations.

137. The undertaking of the Contadora Group cannot but be adversely affected by the coercive measures taken against Nicaragua. My country regrets all the more that that has occurred, since the Ten of Europe have just sent a special good will mission to the Group and to the States of Central America.

138. Such economic measures, like measures of a different nature which prompted the Security Council to meet in April 1984, will affect the lives of populations that have already been sorely tried. They bear within them the seeds of further internal tensions. In Central America, as elsewhere, we are quite convinced that there can be no genuine or lasting democracy unless it is founded on peace and economic and social development. That is why France supports the process of negotiation in that region and maintains relations of cooperation with the States of that area.

139. Therefore France cannot but earnestly appeal for dialogue while at the same time reaffirming its commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to the continuation of the Contadora process and to all those bilateral negotiations which have been initiated in order to produce the necessary and urgently needed easing of tension.

140. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

141. Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) *(interpretation from Spanish):* I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of duties as President of the Security Council for this month. I am certain that with your great experience and skill you will successfully guide over the proceedings of this important body. I also congratulate Mr. Arias Stella of Peru, a distinguished colleague from the America which is watching us today with deep concern and hope in the Council's ability to assume its responsibility regarding the delicate situation in Nicaragua. The excellent work done by Mr. Arias Stella in the Council has faithfully reflected his concern for and commitment to our peoples.

142. Once again it is necesary to call upon the Security Council to consider the situation created by the unjustified, unilateral embargo the Government in Washington has imposed upon Nicaragua. This new step in the escalation of United States Government action against the people of Nicaragua must be added to the many political, economic and military acts of aggression which that country has had to endure practically from the very moment when the satrapy of the Somozas, the illegitimate offspring of Yankee military intervention in Nicaragua, was defeated. To the political harassment, the press campaigns designed to distort the image of the Sandinist revolution, the training, arming and financing of counter-revolutionary bands, the mining of ports and the carrying out of endless military manoeuvres on the borders and coasts of Nicaragua must be added the embargo now imposed to kill the people of Nicaragua with starvation.

143. The pretext used to impose this criminal embargo is the trip of the President of Nicaragua to the Soviet Union. Since when does the President of a sovereign and independent country have to ask permission of Washington to take a trip to another capital? In the

name of what legal concept or moral precept does the United States arrogate such a right to itself?

144. The time has come for human reason, wisdom and intelligence to prevail. Those who for years have in a systematic manner been poisoning with fairy-tales the atmosphere in the Central American region must stop this escalation and so avoid further suffering, death and destruction.

145. The Government in Washington must think carefully about the fact that its allies meeting in Bonn a few days ago expressed disagreement with the embargo against Nicaragua. In other places, friends of the United States have added their voices to those who disagree with that measure. Never has the isolation been greater. It must consider this carefully; it shows, furthermore, disagreement with the policy the United States has been conducting against Nicaragua for so many years.

146. Why does the United States not negotiate honestly and calmly with Nicaragua? Why does it not support with specific, tangible and serious actions the efforts of the Contadora Group to arrive at a peaceful solution, when Nicaragua has demonstrated flexibility and the political will to negotiate? This embargo is a harsh blow to the efforts of Contadora in the search for a solution. The embargo must be rescinded by those who imposed it, thus making a contribution to easing tension in the area. Why does the United States not exercise intelligence and political courage and negotiate with the legitimate constitutional Government of Nicaragua, headed by Daniel Ortega?

147. For 26 years now Cuba has been the victim of this criminal and inhuman policy of blockade, which inflicts suffering upon peoples but at the same time makes them stauncher defenders of the cause they uphold.

148. Just as 40 years ago when the roar of the cannons was falling silent, out of the ashes of the bombs in the cruel war unleashed by the Nazis and the Fascists a cry surged from the peoples, a cry is surging again: peace —peace in which to devote our energies to development. The Nicaraguan people want peace with dignity—peace to rebuild the country destroyed by Somoza; peace to rebuild that which was destroyed by the murderous bands of Somoza's henchmen who today are given logistical support and guided by the Central Intelligence Agency.

149. We ask the Security Council to heed the cry of the peoples in our America and act on the basis of the Organization's Charter by supporting the Contadora Group so that reason and dialogue may prevail and the thunder of guns and cruel embargoes by those who act with arrogance cease.

150. The Government of the United States has acted unilaterally in imposing this embargo, an action which, under the terms of the Charter, falls within the competence of the Security Council. We strongly condemn this absurd, illogical and immoral measure—with which, let me repeat, Cuba is familiar because it was imposed on us 26 years ago and may well be imposed tomorrow against anyone who will not follow Washington's dictates.

151. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

152. Mr. LWENO (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, I should first like to thank you, and through you the other members of the Council, for the opportunity you have accorded my delegation to participate in the Council's deliberations on the item before it. My delegation joins previous speakers in extending to you the high tribute you so well deserve on what we know will be your successful leadership of the Council for this month. We likewise congratulate your predecessor, the President for the month of April.

153. Like every other peace-loving member of the international community, we in the Tanzanian delegation have been following developments in Central America with deep concern and therefore the debate in the Council on the complaint by Nicaragua with keen interest. We believe that at stake in the admittedly explosive situation in that area are the very principles of the United Nations, as embodied in the Charter, on which the very survival of most, if not all, nations depends and on which the future of peace and security rests.

154. On more than one occasion the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which my country is a devoted member, has reviewed the situation in Central America and expressed its concern at the disturbing developments there. While indeed the security of States in the area is being undermined, these developments now pose a serious threat to international peace. Therefore the timely complaint by Nicaragua to the Council and that country's call for a peaceful settlement of the dispute cannot but be commended as an expression of the spirit that should guide all the parties concerned. We therefore wish to take this opportunity to add our voice to that of the Government and people of Nicaragua in their appeal.

155. It cannot be overemphasized that a lasting solution to the problem—with regard not only to Nicaragua but to the whole area—depends entirely on strict observance of the principles of the Charter, particularly respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States. In the case of Nicaragua, a non-aligned State, its non-alignment should be respected. To that end, therefore, the parties should refrain from any acts that amount to aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other States, and no effort should be spared in seeking a solution to any disputes through peaceful means.

156. For quite some time the Contadora Group has been endeavouring to achieve a peaceful settlement of the disputes among the Central American countries, to oppose outside interference and to ease the tension in the region. The countries of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, together with the five countries of Central America, have engaged in negotiations on several occasions, making it possible for the situation in the region to develop a positive orientation. However, the independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua and other Central American countries have been subjected to continuous threat from outside, which renders it impossible to alleviate the tension in Central America. This naturally causes widespread concern among the international community.

157. At its thirty-eighth session the General Assembly took what many of us deemed to be one of the most significant decisions of that session when it adopted by consensus its resolution 38/10, entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international security and peace initiatives". That resolution was the product of many hours, indeed many days, of hard negotiations among the members of the Contadora Group and the countries directly concerned. As we all know, that resolution, *inter alia*, unequivocally reaffirmed the right of all the countries of the Central American region to live in peace and to decide their own future free from all outside interference or intervention. It reaffirmed that respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States of the region was essential to ensure the security and peaceful coexistence of the Central American States, and it expressed support for the efforts of the Contadora Group.

158. It was our hope that such an unequivocal pronouncement of the General Assembly, made without a vote, would be a harbinger of peaceful negotiated solutions to the problems of the region. Even more important, it was our expectation that resort to threats and solutions based on force would come to an end. The very fact that, on so vexed an issue as this, it had been possible to persuade the parties directly concerned to participate in a consensus greatly encouraged the international community to look forward to an improvement in the situation on the ground.

159. It is regrettable, however, that that has not been the case and that, on the whole, things have gone from bad to worse. That Nicaragua has felt obliged to have recourse to the Council yet again testifies to the fact that, far from being alleviated, its concerns have still not been met and have even become more pressing and intense.

160. Mr. Chamorro Mora of Nicaragua, in his comprehensive exposition to the Council, brought before it yet again a series of allegations of acts of aggression and subversion and other forms of provocation against his country. The international community cannot remain passive in the face of all these acts of destabilization, all these acts of economic strangulation now being carried out against Nicaragua.

161. The position of my delegation is that we shall continue to be guided by the common position of the Non-Aligned Movement. My delegation maintains that, in order to remove tension in Central America in general and in Nicaragua in particular, it is of vital importance to put an end to all interference and threats from outside and urges all those concerned to refrain from making Central America an area for their rivalry and from displaying their military might or resorting to intimidation for that purpose. The independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua and other States of Central America should be respected, and the affairs of the various countries of the region should be left to the respective peoples themselves. In the mean time we give our support to the Contadora Group in its continued effort to achieve a peaceful and reasonable solution to the Central American question as a whole.

162. The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania pledges its solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua during these trying moments. The Security Council, as the body responsible for the preservation of peace and security, can do no less than give encouragement and support to ongoing genuine efforts aimed at bringing about a long-lasting peace and a just solution to the problems in Central America.

163. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Poland. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

164. Mr. NOWAK (Poland): Sir, the delegation of Poland wishes to congratulate you, the representative of Thailand, on your assumption of the presidency of this Council. We are convinced that your diplomatic skill, intelligence and wisdom will help this body to deal effectively with the difficult tasks ahead of it. I take this opportunity to express our admiration for the way in which the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, guided the deliberations of the Council during the month of April.

165. Several times already my delegation has presented the position of the Polish Government on the Nicaraguan complaint to the Security Council and on the increase in tensions in Central America. Poland has asked to speak before the Council this time also in order to express its concern over certain threats to international security because their dimensions transcend the Central American region.

166. The Security Council has already dealt with open and covert acts of aggression committed against Nicaragua in spite of the readiness of the Nicaraguan Government to negotiate a solution of the conflict and in spite of the efforts of the four countries of the Contadora Group.

167. Referring to these developments, my delegation emphasized that the crisis in Central America was the result of the extension of different destabilizing factors rather than being in any way attributable to East-West

rivalry. In the view of my Government, on the one hand the origins of the problem in the Central American region were linked to the lack of economic development and to grave social injustices, while on the other hand the instability of the region was exacerbated by an intensified resort to a policy of interference and intervention as manifested by increased United States military activity in the region and threats of the use of force, pressure and economic coercion against the legitimate Government of Nicaragua.

168. It is with grave concern that we have to state that the United States has recently intensified those activities. My delegation followed with great attention yesterday the statement of the representative of Nicaragua describing in detail all the unlawful actions against his country. The development of events is causing legitimate alarm. The United States flagrant interference in the affairs of a sovereign State is demonstrated by its being made clear in Washington that what the United States Government wants is a change of government in Managua. Any further pretence about "covert action" is now ludicrous. The international community now knows beyond any doubt that the United States Administration openly supports military action against Nicaragua. A variety of measures is being applied to coerce the Sandinist Government.

169. We are witnessing another example from a long list of countries that have been subjected recently to a wide range of so-called economic sanctions imposed for purely political reasons. I use the term "so-called economic sanctions" because they were not approved by the Security Council. It is no surprise to my country, or to many others, that the policy of economic pressure against Nicaragua in order to make that sovereign State comply with the political wishes of a more powerful country originates in the United States. Using as a pretext the internal developments towards a more just and democratic order in Nicaragua, the United States has been undertaking wholly ideologically motivated action against Nicaragua encompassing every aspect of international relations, including the economic aspect.

170. It is hardly necessary to prove that such a policy is totally unlawful and inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. In particular, the measures to which I have referred are clearly inconsistent with Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter. They depart from such fundamental principles of international law as those concerning the sovereign equality of States and respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty, non-intervention in internal affairs and co-operation among States. Such steps are followed—as in our case—by breaking international agreements and are thus in contradiction with a basic and universally recognized norm of the law of treaties, *pacta sunt servanda*. The economic restrictions also undermine the established practice of international trade relations, confirmed in various international instruments, that political elements are not introduced into trade and commerce. The said actions should be treated as unlawful and unjustified and as undoubtedly involving international responsibility for all losses and damage incurred.

171. We therefore urge the immediate revocation of any trade embargo or restrictions imposed by the United States in violation of the recognized norms and principles of international law. Existing differences should be resolved on the basis of friendly co-operation between States, through dialogue and in the spirit of the Charter. In this respect, my delegation shares the ideas of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries presented today by Mr. Krishnan of India.

172. The extension of political tensions into the sphere of economic co-operation introduces an element of uncertainty and instability. It also creates an extremely dangerous precedent for the future. Many States are reluctant to commit themselves to broader economic co-operation, fearful of increasing exposure to political pressures.

173. It is therefore, in the opinion of my delegation, high time not only to think but also to act vigorously in the direction of strengthening confidence in international economic relations. Confidence-building is a broad and prolonged process. However, starting the process of confidence-building in the most constructive spirit would make a small but important contribution to the positive restructuring of the present environment of international economic relations, thus providing a favourable stimulus to political relations. Within the framework of such steps, we can also foresee a constructive settlement of the conflict between the United States and Nicaragua.

174. There is no doubt that the main condition for the restoration of peaceful relations is the immediate cessation of acts of intervention and economic coercion. The Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America paves the way for lasting peace in the region. Poland shares the conviction of the four Contadora States that "the Contadora Group is the appropriate forum for dealing with the Central American situation", as expressed in the information bulletin from Panama City distributed as document S/17103 of 15 April 1985.

175. To conclude, the delegation of Poland, reaffirming its firm solidarity with Nicaragua, requests that the Security Council make a strong call to the parties to the conflict to abstain from any action aimed at destabilizing or undermining other States or their systems, including the imposition of trade embargoes or restrictions, blockades or other sanctions not authorized by the Council. All the parties concerned should settle their conflicts through bilateral and multilateral negotiations within the Contadora process. Further, the sovereignty of States and the inalienable right of States, Nicaragua included, to determine freely their political, economic and social systems should be reaffirmed. Last but not least, all coercive measures of an economic or other nature, which violate the principle of non-inter-

ference in internal affairs, whether imposed against Nicaragua or any other State, should be condemned as a threat to international peace and security.

176. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

177. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) *(interpretation from French):* I am very pleased to be able, on behalf of the Algerian delegation, to express my congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are convinced that your competence and wisdom are the best guarantee of prudent conduct of the Council's work. I should also like to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to Mr. Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, on the way in which he discharged his duties as President of the Council last month.

178. For too many years now the situation in Central America has been constantly marked by disquieting signs of a dangerous evolution. Following an inexorable logic of confrontation, it thus threatens to break out at any time, with consequences of unpredictable dimensions, into a regional conflagration fraught with danger for international peace and security. What makes matters worse is that this evolution is taking place in the global context of an international situation that is particularly troubled and in which tangible signs of renewed confidence cannot yet be discerned.

179. There has therefore been from the very beginning much food for serious thought on the part of the international community.

180. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose very history bears witness to solidarity and work for progress and peace, has constantly expressed its increasing concern through the assiduous attention with which it has followed events, continually voicing its support for the right of the peoples of the region to self-determination and independence.

181. The Security Council, for its part, is seized of the question and has already reaffirmed in its resolution 530 (1983) the right of Nicaragua and of all States in the region to live in peace and security free from foreign interference. That was certainly a timely reaffirmation of a right which the General Assembly has in a most responsible way devoted itself to promoting as inalienable.

182. In addition to this unanimity, four Latin American countries—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—have undertaken painstakingly to reconstruct a consensus for peace in Central America and to achieve the translation into reality of the good will aroused by the Contadora process in the five Central American countries. Inspired by obstinate determination and optimism, these countries have devoted patient efforts to the preparation of an Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America, which, over and above the urgent search for a peaceful solution to the Central American crisis, is a genuine effort to come up with the right framework and means conducive to the restoration of confidence and the promotion of regional co-operation—in a word, to ensure sound and lasting conditions for the restoration of peace at last.

183. Firm and honest support for this Act would finally have permitted the efforts of the Contadora Group to reach the stage at which a downward spiral in the tension in Central America could have begun and accelerated. However, it seems that with the decision on the embargo on trade relations with Nicaragua the tension in the region has increased and thus justifies renewed and increased concern as to the future course of events in the region.

184. Once again we see that the situation, because of its extreme gravity, requires the greatest restraint so as to prevent any action that might provoke a sudden escalation of tension. At the same time, it makes it necessary that the greatest encouragement be given by all States, in particular the most powerful among them, to the Contadora Group, whose patient and praiseworthy undertaking merits more careful consideration and a better tribute than the imposition of a new obstacle to its persistent efforts to promote a peaceful solution to the problems of the region.

185. It is clear that the trade embargo decreed by the United States against Nicaragua is no kind of reward for the efforts of the Contadora Group, nor will it lead to a restoration of stability and peace in Central America. On the contrary, this measure is likely to cause further exacerbation of the tension at the same time as it seriously reduces the chance of a negotiated political settlement.

186. Adopted in violation of international law, this measure runs counter to the Contadora spirit of reconciliation and harmony. It is unjust in its nature and disproportionate in its scope, it will certainly harm the economic interests of a State with limited national resources which is tackling the serious repercussions on the domestic front of an international economic crisis. The impact of that crisis is all the greater because of the mobilization of all Nicaragua's national means to face the constant threat to its sovereignty and independence. Contrary to the principles of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*] the embargo is also a further attack on the principle of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. It is a serious departure from the course of dialogue and negotiation. At the same time, it is proof of the continuation of a mistaken approach to the problem of Central America, which is persistently depicted as an East-West confrontation.

187. Algeria is firmly devoted to the principle of a negotiated political settlement of the problems raised by the situation in Central America, in strict respect for the right of States freely to choose their political, economic and social systems. Naturally, the Nicaraguan people cannot be denied this right, for that people, through a long struggle against dictatorship and oppression, dearly bought its right to take its place as one of the free peoples that can decide their fate in full sovereignty.

188. Recognizing that the initiative of the countries members of the Contadora Group was an action based on fundamental respect for that right, Algeria from the outset unreservedly supported their efforts. They are exemplary efforts that are a true challenge, in view of the complexity and difficulty of a task which an unfavourable international situation has made particularly acute. They are sound efforts as well, because they will lead to the necessary rehabilitation of negotiation in contrast to confrontation and will ensure that dialogue prevails over mistrust and suspicion. They are timely and persistent efforts also, since they reaffirm the urgency of reabsorbing regional conflicts within their regional framework, at the precise moment of the welcomed resumption of dialogue between the super-Powers.

189. Quite clearly, then, the work of the Contadora Group by its significance goes beyond the initial limits of an urgent recourse to an *ad hoc* initiative and reaches the level of a symbolic responsibility in efforts that basically revert to the choice laid down in the Organization's Charter, which gives pride of place to recourse to dialogue and negotiation.

190. So today we must chart the course to a true return to the spirit of Contadora by firmly and unequivocally reaffirming our support for the Contadora Group's action. This meeting of the Security Council is being held on the very eve of a meeting scheduled by the Contadora Group. It is our hope that the Council, clearheadly and calmly, will adopt a lucid position that may be seen as encouragement for the resumption of the Contadora process and, at the same time, as a message of hope for the peoples of Central America.

191. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

192. Mr. MACIEL (Brazil): I should first like to add my delegation's congratulations to those already expressed to the President of the Security Council as well as to the representative of Peru, the President of the Council last month.

193. My Government and I are very grateful for this opportunity to address the Security Council at this time. I should like to call the Council's attention to the statement issued by the Brazilian Government in Brasilia on the item before the Council. It has been circulated as document S/17166.

194. Brazil comes before the Security Council as a Latin American country which is deeply concerned that the crisis in Central America is becoming steadily worse. At all times Brazil has consistently defended the need for a peaceful, negotiated settlement for Central American problems, a settlement based on principles of international law and in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. We have cautioned against acts and actions which, by transplanting into our region the problems that pertain to the East-West confrontation, can only serve to postpone the establishment of a state of peace and tranquillity in Central America.

195. The road to negotiation, particularly the one being followed with the valuable co-operation of the Contadora Group, is the only way to attain a valid result, through respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and through strict observance of the principle of non-interference.

196. In line with the position it has always taken, Brazil deplores the use of unilateral economic measures that are inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations and with the charter of the Organization of American States and that pose new obstacles to negotiated solutions. We appeal to all the parties involved to abstain, inspired by a true desire for peace, from any acts or actions that endanger the prospects for understanding and to make a direct commitment to negotiation efforts.

197. Brazil is convinced that negotiation is still the option. Those who because of their more direct interests in the Central American question have, accordingly, more concrete responsibilities must clearly and firmly exercise the option for negotiation, since neither confrontation nor the use of force will solve the problem in Central America.

198. The PRESIDENT: Four names remain on the list of speakers for this afternoon's meeting. In view of the lateness of the hour, those speakers will be called upon at the next meeting of the Security Council.

199. The representative of the United States wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I now call on him.

200. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): There have been repeated allegations that the trade embargo and other economic measures that the United States has taken in recent days constitute a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Let me again repeat that there is nothing in the Charter that prevents a State from exercising its right to terminate trade. While under the Charter the Security Council may mandate certain types of economic measures and bind all States, the Charter in no way precludes action by individual States in pursuance of their customary and sovereign rights to safeguard their security.

201. There have also been allegations that the trade embargo by the United States against Nicaragua vio-

lates the charter of the Organization of American States. We do not believe that it does. On the contrary, our actions are consistent with that charter and further its purposes.

202. It is Nicaragua that is engaged in a course of action which is a massive violation of the charter of the Organization of American States. It is conducting a campaign of subversion and aggression against its neighbours and is violating the political and human rights of its people. The United States decision to cease trading with Nicaragua is intended primarily to prevent Nicaragua from deriving benefits from trade with the United States which would, directly or indirectly, support its illegal, aggressive and destabilizing course of action in the region.

203. The representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Troyanovsky, spoke eloquently about the great Allied victory in the Second World War against the forces of Hitlerite fascism. He spoke movingly about the contributions the Soviet people made towards that victory, and indeed the Soviet people must be recognized as having sacrificed tremendously and as having contributed enormously to that particular victory. The Soviet representative also noted that that event of 40 years ago indicated the potential for joint collaboration in desirable directions. Had he stopped there I would not have asked to exercise the right of reply. However—and unfortunately—the Soviet representative continued by accusing the United States of violating international accords, of interfering in the domestic affairs of States and, especially, of interfering in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries.

204. What I should like to do is refresh the memory of the Council and that of the Soviet delegation. It would be nice to have historical amnesia, but unfortunately some of us are burdened with a memory of history.

205. In 1939, Hitler had the Rhineland, Austria and Czechoslovakia, and his eyes were turned towards Poland. Poland, conscious of the designs of its neighbours, had entered into a non-aggression pact with Germany in 1934 and a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union in 1932. On 26 November 1938, Poland also concluded a further treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union.

206. Yet, during the night of 23 August 1939, the German-Soviet non-aggression pact—the infamous Hitler-Stalin pact—was signed in Moscow. The pact's secret protocol stipulated that, if changes affecting Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were made, Lithuania's northern frontier should be the dividing line between German and Soviet spheres of influence, that in Poland the line should be approximately that of the Narew, Vistula and San rivers, and that Bessarabia should be a Soviet sphere of influence.

207. This cynical agreement stupefied Europe even though its secret protocol was then unknown to all but those who signed it. It led directly to the invasion of Poland by German troops on the morning of 1 September 1939. Great Britain and France declared war on Germany on 2 September, and the Soviet Union invaded Poland on 17 September. Despite the valiant resistance of which we are all well aware, Poland was conquered.

208. On 28 September 1939 another secret German-Soviet protocol modified the arrangements made that August: all of Lithuania was to be a Soviet sphere of influence, not a German one, but the dividing line in Poland was changed in Germany's favour, being moved eastward to the Bug.

209. On 10 October 1939, the Soviet Union compelled Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to admit Soviet garrisons onto their territories. Approached with similar demands, Finland refused to comply. The Soviet Union attacked Finland on 30 November 1939. After a heroic defence, Finland was forced to sue for peace on 6 March 1940. Soviet terms were accepted: beyond the earlier demands that had led to Finnish resistance, the Finns were forced to cede areas in the Salla and Kuusamo communes and their part of the Fisher Peninsula and to undertake the building of a railway from Kemijarvi to the frontier.

210. In June 1940, Romania was compelled by the Soviet Union to cede Bessarabia and northern Bukovina.

211. On 13 April 1941, Japan concluded a neutrality pact with the Soviet Union.

212. So much for Soviet non-interference in the affairs of its neighbouring States, and so much too for Soviet attitudes about Hitlerite fascism.

213. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Nicaragua has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I now call on him.

214. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) *(interpretation from Spanish):* I would have preferred not to speak in reply, as I have just asked to do. First of all, I consider that what has been said today by delegations members and non-members of the Security Council clearly demonstrates the concern of the international community about the recent measures adopted against my country, which increase tension in the region and undermine the Contadora peace process which seeks a negotiated political solution to the problems facing Central America.

215. Secondly, I would have preferred not to speak because the statement by the United States representative amazed me so much that quite frankly I have almost lost my powers of speech and my ability to think clearly and calmly.

216. Thirdly, I did not want to speak because we know about the traditional custom of the United States delegation, which is to attempt in Council debates, particularly those which have been requested by Nicaragua, to divert attention so that it will not have to answer logically and truthfully the just accusations which on many occasions Nicaragua has made against it in this lofty forum in considering the acts of aggression of which we have been victim for many years.

217. It is the general practice for that delegation, in its attempt to divert attention, to use a string of worn-out arguments regarding a whole series of aspects relating to our internal policies, arguments which, it seems to me, they don't even believe themselves. I think not even Mr. Sorzano himself sincerely believes those arguments, but he feels obliged, as a representative of his Government, to repeat them over and over again, *ad nauseam*.

218. Yesterday I spoke of the description by the United States historian, Richard Hosstadter, of the paranoid style of United States foreign policy, whose principal characteristics include a constant leap of the imagination from the incredible to the unimaginable and the characterization of the enemy as an implacable, satanic force. I also mentioned that the various United States representatives were apt to use metaphor and Orwellian inversion, and I asked who corrupted language, who polluted words, who stood on the side of truth and who was lying shamelessly.

219. Today's statement by the representative of the United States proves the truth of the assertions that I made yesterday, which is why I have ventured to repeat them. At the same time, they lead me to ask how he can have respect for this forum, which is charged with ensuring international peace and security, and how he can so underestimate the intelligence, sensitivity and understanding of the members of the Council.

220. I cannot fail to ask all these questions, which reflect my perplexity and my anxiety, having heard, among other things:

> "On every occasion that Nicaragua has appeared before the Council, it has sought either to forestall the progress of the Contadora process or to interfere in the internal affairs of the United States by seeking to influence our domestic political debate about Central America." [*Supra, para. 34.*]

I thank the representative of the United States for ascribing to my poor, small, non-aligned country that level of political, military and economic power which it exercises and through which it influences and changes processes taking place not only in Latin America and Africa but in other parts of the world, and which it also uses to prevent the realization of the desire for liberation and independence of some territories that still suffer under the colonial yoke.

221. We also heard:

> "The measures recently adopted by the United States do not violate the charter of the Organization of American States; on the contrary, our actions are consistent with that charter and further its purposes. It is Nicaragua that is engaged in a course of action which is a massive violation of the charter of the Organization of American States."

Those assertions require no further comment from me.

222. I shall not use this opportunity to refer, as the Americans are used to doing with reference to us, to the internal affairs of the United States. We respect the right of self-determination of peoples, unlike the United States, which interferes in the internal affairs of the peoples of Latin America and other regions of the world. I shall not refer to the many denunciations of violations of human rights that have recently appeared in some United States newspapers about the use of torture even here in prisons in New York. Neither shall I refer—because I do not want to interfere in United States internal affairs—to the almost 1,000 United States citizens who have been arrested in the past few days in various United States cities, solely because they oppose the unconsidered decision of the United States Government to implement a trade embargo against Nicaragua. Nor do I want to refer—because, I insist, I do not want to interfere in United States internal affairs—to the interrogation that various United States citizens have been subjected to when they have returned to United States territory after travelling to my country. Finally, I will not dwell on the investigations that have been made of a series of United States citizens simply because they had telephone contacts with our Permanent Mission to the United Nations.

223. I now turn to other aspects. I do not want on this occasion to dwell either on the well-known and thoroughly condemned double-standard policy towards my country, against which the Americans commit constant acts of political, economic and military aggression. The members of the Council and the international community are very well aware of the publications that the American press constantly makes available to us, and also know of the debates in the United States Congress and the secret documents that have circulated and have been placed at our disposal.

224. I shall not refer to the alleged desires of the United States for a political solution and for support of Contadora. It pays lip-service to the work of Contadora, but in reality its support is clearly recognized in the National Security Council document made public towards the end of last year, in which the Americans congratulated themselves on having effectively at that moment blocked the Contadora process.

225. Nor shall I dwell on their justifications today for the embargo against non-aligned, peace-loving Nic-

aragua, though I shall quote a statement made by Mrs. Kirkpatrick when she was her Government's representative in the Security Council. She said:

> "Each of these drafts is linked in one way or another to sanctions and is consequently inimical, we are convinced, to our common objective of independence for Namibia. We do not consider economic sanctions an effective way of influencing political decisions. We believe that a study of history will support our opinion that such measures were not effective when they were applied against Italy in the 1930s or against Rhodesia in 1970."

I should like to suggest to the United States representative that his Government listen to the clamour of African peoples for the need to implement sanctions of every kind against the South African régime and its criminal policy of *apartheid*.

226. Finally, owing to the advanced hour and because representatives have other commitments, I shall not now—although I reserve my right to do so tomorrow—expand upon the extensive legal arguments that I mentioned yesterday to support our denunciation of the violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the charter of the Organization of American States and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, as well as the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

227. I merely wish to pose a question to the representative of the United States, considering the content of his intervention today. If the United States really considers tiny, non-aligned, underdeveloped Nicaragua a threat to its security and its foreign policy and therefore feels obliged to declare a state of emergency, why, since it is a member of the Security Council, does it not use this lofty forum—which is entrusted precisely with watching over international peace and security—to denounce Nicaragua, which, it says, is committing aggression against it and which, it says, constitutes a threat to peace and security? If the United States is so sure of itself—if it is so sure it is not violating the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States and other international agreements, why does it not resort to existing organs, such as the International Court of Justice, instead of acting in a contrary manner and disregarding the validity and competence of the Court on these issues? I think these are two existing forums available to the United States; they would provide an appropriate means for it to validate its assertions. Before using force or resorting to aggression, the United States should exhaust the available means for the peaceful settlement of disputes available to States Members of this peace-loving Organization.

228. The **PRESIDENT**: I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

229. Mr. **OVINNIKOV** (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(interpretation from Russian)*: Whenever the United States is in the dock in the Security Council it always comes out with anti-Soviet calumny. This is the usual hackneyed trick that it uses.

230. I should like to draw the Council's attention to the fact that the representative of the United States, without even knowing what the representative of the Soviet Union would say in the Council's meeting today, nevertheless launched into a scurrilous anti-Soviet tirade in an attempt to rewrite and distort history. It was an unsuccessful, a dirty trick.

231. Yes, we are truly at odds with the United States when it comes to the lessons of history. It was the United States which, in plain view, committed a true outrage against the victims of fascism when at the highest State level a few days ago the American President laid a wreath on the graves of SS butchers. But we are not going to play into the hands of the representative of the United States and get into questions which have nothing to do with the item on our agenda.

232. We have on the agenda an item on the situation in Central America. The United States representative in his main statement has already tried once again to drag the name of the Soviet Union into what is taking place in Latin America. It was a very clumsy and unsuccessful attempt. The intervention of the American imperialists in Latin America began long, long before the Soviet Union existed on the map of the world.

233. About one hundred years ago, at the end of the last century, the United States Marines landed in Rio de Janeiro, then the capital of Brazil. What Soviet agents were they seeking? At the end of the last century, the United States Marines on three occasions landed in Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina. What Soviet agents were they seeking then, Mr. Sorzano?

234. The United States, as I have already had occasion to say, has committed 82 acts of intervention in Latin American countries, including 10 against Nicaragua. This is why, Mr. Sorzano, despite all your slanderous assertions, it is not the Soviet Union but the United States that should be feared in Latin America. It is no accident that the president of a Latin American country with bitter irony expressed his regret that God was so far and the United States so close.

235. The **PRESIDENT**: I call on the representative of the United States, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

236. Mr. **SORZANO** (United States of America): The Nicaraguan representative indicated that my presentation this afternoon so surprised him that he almost became speechless and could almost not reason straight. In view of the fact that what he said here at length a moment ago was a repetition of what he had said at length yesterday, I promise the Council that

I will try harder the next time: perhaps I will succeed in making him speechless and we will then go home earlier.

237. With regard to Mr. Ovinnikov, I thought that in view of his imminent departure it would be a pity if we did not have one further sparring match. I apologize to the members of the Council for keeping them here. I would just note that when I referred before to the Soviet Union's "friendly" relations with its neighbours I was taking an awfully small slice of Soviet history and an awfully small slice of geography. The lateness of the hour, however, prevents me from beginning to expand that slice of time and geography. As Mr. Chamorro Mora said, we all have commitments to which we have to attend. In deference to those commitments I will stop here.

238. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Nicaragua, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

239. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) *(interpretation from Spanish):* I shall try to keep my promise not to take up much more of the Council's time. Having heard the United States representative, however, I would merely suggest to him—not as an argument for use in his next statement to render me speechless—that he appeal to his Government to halt its aggression against Nicaragua. Then I will be silent and not need to call for meetings of the Security Council.

240. The PRESIDENT: I, too, am almost speechless. I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

241. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(interpretation from Russian):* The representative of the United States was right when he said that we had several sparring matches in the Security Council. What he did not say was that he did not win a single one of those matches.

242. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the United States has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I call on him.

243. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): I, too, am becoming speechless but am willing graciously to concede that the Soviet representative has always bested me in all these things.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 367, No. 5224.

[2] Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. Signed at Rio de Janeiro, 2 September 1947. (*Ibid.*, vol. 21, No. 324 (*a*).)

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UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

FORTIETH YEAR

2579th MEETING: 10 MAY 1985

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Page

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2579) 1

Adoption of the agenda 1

Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156) 1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2579th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 10 May 1985, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Birabhongse KASEMSRI (Thailand)

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2579)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156)

The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item [*2577th and 2578th meetings*], I invite the representative of Nicaragua to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Algeria, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mexico, Mongolia, Poland, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Mr. Maciel (Brazil), Mr. Albán-Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Dinka (Ethiopia), Mr. Fajardo-Maldonado (Guatemala), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Nyamdoo (Mongolia), Mr. Nowak (Poland), Mr. Lweno (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Security Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Argentina, the German Democratic Republic, Guyana, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Mr. Vongsay (Lao People's Democratic Republic) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members of the Council have before them document S/17172, which contains the text of a draft resolution presented by Nicaragua.

4. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents also: S/17169, letter dated 9 May 1985 from the representative of Uruguay to the President of the Security Council; S/17170, letter dated 9 May from the representative of Democratic Yemen to the Secretary-General; S/17171, letter dated 9 May from the representative of Suriname to the President of the Security Council; and S/17174, letter dated 9 May from the representative of El Salvador to the Secretary-General.

5. The first speaker is the representative of Burkina Faso, and I now call on him.

6. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) *(interpretation from French):* The delegation of Burkina Faso would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. We are convinced that, thanks to your far-sightedness and your qualities as a seasoned diplomat, the Security Council will be able to fulfil its mandate successfully. I wish also to thank your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, for the excellent

work he accomplished during the month of April. We undoubtedly owe the success of our work to his wisdom and tact, and particularly his profound knowledge of international problems.

7. Nearly a year has elapsed since the Security Council met to discuss the very disquieting situation in Central America. Those meetings [*2525th to 2529th meetings*] followed the mining of the ports and territorial waters of Nicaragua, a brother country with which we share the same ideals within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

8. The very instructive and constructive debate that took place at that time gave reason for hope that the Security Council would be able to make a positive contribution to the search for a peaceful, negotiated political solution to the problems that beset that subregion. We know what the result of that was: hope vanished because a veto was cast.

9. It was therefore clear that a great deal remained to be done in order to reduce tension and to persuade the parties involved to abide by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations concerning the settlement of disputes. My delegation welcomes the efforts that have been undertaken in that direction by the Contadora Group, to which my country gives unswerving support. We also welcome the reasonable and open-minded attitude which the Government of Nicaragua has evinced throughout the process.

10. It is not our intention to rehearse to the Council the background to the present situation in Latin America. The reasons for the situation have been identified by the representative of Peru in his statement [*2578th meeting*] and are still fresh in our memories.

11. The development of the situation in Central America, which has recently been marked by coercive economic measures unexpectedly adopted by the Government of the United States against Nicaragua leads us to wonder what is going to happen to all these efforts. Those serious measures, which include a total embargo on trade and air and sea communications between the two countries, will undoubtedly be a heavy burden for Nicaragua. Far from contributing to a peaceful solution of the problem, this unilateral decision, apart from violating the principles enunciated in the Charter, has further aggravated the situation and threatened the already precarious peace and security in the region.

12. Faithful to the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Burkina Faso condemns any form of outside interference or intervention, whatever its source. Our position on the situation in Central America is in keeping with that of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983.

13. More recently, during the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, the ministers and heads of delegations of non-aligned countries adopted a communiqué [*S/16773, annex*] in which they reiterated their firm condemnation of the use of economic measures as a means of exerting political and economic pressure against States, in violation of their sovereign rights and decisions.

14. The wisdom of many of the authors of the Charter never ceases to astonish us.

15. A great many reasons have been given to justify the United States embargo against Nicaragua and the coercive economic measures that accompany it. My delegation believes that, as the saying goes, he who wishes to drown his dog accuses it of having rabies. In the name of what kind of democracy does one speak and act thus? Is it that "democracy" in which 25 million blacks bend beneath the yoke of *apartheid* imposed by the racist régime in Pretoria and declare to the world their hunger for justice, freedom and independence? Or is it that other "democracy" which the iniquitous Somoza régime imposed on the valiant people of Nicaragua for so many years?

16. The Security Council must denounce and combat not only the act that has brought us together today, but also and above all the tacit complicity of all those Powers which are no longer restrained by any kind of morality and sacrifice everybody to satisfy their thirst for conquest and world domination. In doing so, the Security Council will, we are quite convinced, protect mankind from this double standard of justice, which means that, depending upon whether one is powerful or weak, the court judges one to be right or wrong.

17. For us the solution to the problem of Central America lies not in a trial of strength but in negotiation. No coercive measure can overcome the will and the determination of a people to be fully responsible for its destiny. That is why, in its resolution 38/10, of 11 November 1983, the General Assembly unequivocally reaffirmed the inalienable right of all the peoples of Central America to live in peace and to decide their own future, free from all outside interference or intervention. That is also why, in its resolution 39/4, of 26 October 1984, it expressed its support for the efforts of the Contadora Group and urged all interested States to co-operate fully with the Group through a frank and constructive dialogue, in the conviction that that is the best possible way to bring about a just and lasting solution to their differences.

18. In his statement of 8 May [*2577th meeting*] the representative of Nicaragua informed the Security Council of the situation which his country is now facing. He reaffirmed the willingness of his Government to pursue its efforts to resume the dialogue with the Government of the United States, which we hope will show the same readiness.

19. The Security Council must do everything possible to encourage all parties to take that course.

20. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

21. Mr. DINKA (Ethiopia): Let me begin, Sir, by offering you the sincere felicitations of the Ethiopian delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May and extend to you my best wishes for a successful term. May I also extend the admiration of my delegation to your predecessor, the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for the able manner in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

22. My delegation listened with great attention to the statement made by the representative of Nicaragua on the afternoon of 8 May regarding the situation in Central America and the serious developments arising out of the embargo which the United States recently imposed against Nicaragua. Having also listened with equal attention to all the speakers yesterday afternoon [*2578th meeting*], my delegation is of the view that the matter before the Council is one of grave concern not only to the parties to the issue, but to the international community as a whole. What is at stake is the challenge posed to the cardinal precepts of the Charter and the very norms governing inter-State relations. The decision of the Council in the matter, therefore, will indicate whether the world is headed for the continued supremacy of the rule of law or a dark age of brute force wherein chaos reigns.

23. The international community is painfully aware that ever since the downfall of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua the valiant people of that country have been faced with critical challenges to their inalienable right to choose the form of government under which they want to live. External interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua with the aim of destabilizing and eventually overthrowing the popularly elected Government of that country have become the order of the day. To this end, Nicaraguan ports have been blockaded and mined, while mercenaries have been organized, trained, financed, equipped and infiltrated into Nicaragua to murder innocent people and destroy the economic and social infrastructure. Furthermore, a sophisticated form of pressure and intimidation is pursued through the never-ending military manoeuvres by the United States very close to the Nicaraguan border, thus creating an ever-present threat of direct invasion. It is in the context of those continuing attempts to reverse the revolutionary process in Nicaragua, a small non-aligned developing nation, that the recent decision of the United States Government declaring a trade and economic embargo against Nicaragua must be considered.

24. That action of the United States Administration is, first and foremost, in violation of bilateral agreements between the United States and Nicaragua, particularly the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation, which is still in force. It is also contrary to article 32 of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States contained in General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX) and to the principles and rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, particularly paragraph 7 (iii) of the Ministerial Declaration adopted on 29 November 1982 by the contracting parties to the General Agreement. It tramples underfoot General Assembly resolution 39/210, entitled "Economic measures as a means of political and economic coercion against developing countries", which, *inter alia*, called upon developed countries to

> "refrain from threatening or applying trade restrictions, blockades, embargoes and other economic sanctions, incompatible with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations . . . against developing countries as a form of political and social development".

25. As is well known, Nicaragua is a non-aligned developing country whose fragile economy continues to suffer from the consequences of natural disasters and a war imposed upon it by external Powers. To help mitigate the effects of those natural and man-made disasters and to assist the Government of Nicaragua in its reconstruction efforts, the General Assembly adopted resolution 39/204, in which it urged all Governments to contribute to the reconstruction and development of Nicaragua. That resolution particularly recommended that "Nicaragua should continue to receive treatment appropriate to the special needs of the country until the economic situation returns to normal".

26. In view of that, it is inconceivable to my delegation that such a small developing country could pose a threat to any of its neighbours, let alone to a super-Power. It is indisputable, on the other hand, that the trade and economic embargo declared by the United States totally negates the letter and spirit of that resolution. We therefore deplore the trade embargo imposed by the United States against Nicaragua.

27. The issue before the Council is crystal-clear. Cardinal principles of the Charter and of international law are being systematically violated. The motive behind those violations is also equally clear: it is to nullify the sovereign decision of the people of Nicaragua and overthrow their elected Government. No amount of obfuscation can hide that truth. Indeed, it was the clarity of the issues under discussion and their significance in the relations between States at large that prompted the States members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to take the position spelt out in the communiqué of the Movement's Co-ordinating Bureau released on 7 May 1985 [*S/17163, annex*].

28. The question that remains to be answered is whether the Security Council will rise to the challenge or remain impotent in the face of such unwarranted acts of interference and coercion against a small State Member of the United Nations. It is the hope of my delegation that the Council will act with courage and resolve

commensurate with the crisis, with a view to redeeming its own credibility, which will enable it to continue serving effectively the interests of peace and security in the contemporary international system, whose very fabric is being threatened by creeping anarchy.

29. Nicaragua has demonstrated its good faith to the international community beyond any doubt by accepting without reservations the Contadora Act, and it continues to co-operate closely with the Contadora Group, which persistently seeks the establishment of a framework of peace and co-operation between the nations of Central America. Hoping for a peaceful solution to outstanding problems between itself and the United States, Nicaragua participated in bilateral talks at Manzanillo, Mexico, until the talks were unilaterally discontinued by the United States. Nicaragua deserves the recognition and appreciation of the international community for those peaceful efforts on its part.

30. The Government and people of socialist Ethiopia note with admiration the determination of the Government and people of Nicaragua to protect the gains of their revolution and the territorial integrity of their motherland against the forces of domination, reaction and counter-revolution, and reaffirm once again their support for and fraternal solidarity with the Nicaraguan people in their struggle. We also congratulate the Government and people of Nicaragua on their perseverance in the pursuit of the peaceful resolution of disputes and their continued commitment to international legality. We are confident that those efforts by Nicaragua will be crowned by impressive victories.

31. The Government of Ethiopia is convinced that the Contadora process is the only path that will lead to peace, security and development in Central America, and it fully supports the efforts of the Contadora Group.

32. In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council for acceding so readily to my delegation's request to address the Council on this important item.

33. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Cyprus. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

34. Mr. MOUSHOUTAS (Cyprus): I should like first to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May and to thank you and your colleagues on the Council for allowing us to participate in the debate. We are confident that under your most able guidance this body will discharge its responsibilities effectively and successfully. I should like to take this opportunity to express to your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, my delegation's appreciation of the excellent manner in which he conducted the Council's proceedings during the month of April.

35. The situation in Central America and in Nicaragua in particular has been considered repeatedly by the Security Concil and General Assembly and by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—by the latter as recently as 7 May at the meeting of its Co-ordinating Bureau in New York.

36. The Security Council, by its resolution 530 (1983), reaffirmed, *inter alia*, the right of Nicaragua and of all other countries of the area to live in peace and security free from outside interference. In that same resolution the Council commended the efforts of the Contadora Group and appealed to the interested States to co-operate fully with that Group so as to resolve their differences.

37. Moreover, the General Assembly in resolution 38/10 of 11 November 1983 reaffirmed, *inter alia*, the right of all the countries in the Central American region to live in peace and to decide their own future free from all outside interference or intervention. It affirmed that respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States of the region was essential for ensuring the security and peaceful coexistence of the countries of Central America, and at the same time it expressed support for the efforts of the Contadora Group.

38. We regret to note that, despite such resolutions, decisions and declarations which reflect the overwhelming wish of the international community, the situation in the region is deteriorating. The fact that the Government of Nicaragua has felt it necessary to bring the matter before the Security Council many times during the past two years is deeply disturbing and evidences the degree of gravity which Nicaragua attributes to such negative developments. The representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora, explained the extent of the new hostile economic measures and acts of subversion launched against his country. We fully comprehend the seriousness of the situation and, in a non-aligned spirit of solidarity, share Nicaragua's grave concern.

39. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus has persistently and consistently advocated and abided by the principle that bilateral, regional and international problems must be solved peacefully, by negotiation, not by recourse to the threat or use of force, and that the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of all countries must be fully respected. Thus, in his address to the General Assembly on 3 October 1983 on the situation in Central America, the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, said:

> "We follow with grave concern the events in Nicaragua and other countries in Central America and sincerely hope that efforts within and outside the United Nations, including those of the Contadora Group, will succeed. What is of paramount importance is that the right of all States in the region to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity be fully respected, as well as the sovereign right of the peoples of the region to choose freely their own political, economic and social systems without any foreign interference."[1]

40. Cyprus, a non-aligned country sharing common aspirations with many Latin American countries, unreservedly supports General Assembly resolution 39/4, on the peace efforts of the Contadora Group, and pays a tribute again to the efforts made by the four members of the Group to bring about a just and lasting solution to the problem of Central America based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. At the same time, we endorse the recent communiqué of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the situation in Crentral America [*S/17163, annex*], in which the Bureau "reiterated its firm solidarity with Nicaragua and called for an immediate end to all threats, attacks, hostile acts and coercive economic measures against the people and Government of that country".

41. My delegation hopes that the Security Council, which is primarily entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, will exert every effort to achieve, finally, an immediate end to the hostilities in the region and to the threats directed against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Nicaragua.

42. Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) *(interpretation from Russian):* First, I should like to welcome you, Sir, to the responsible post of President of the Security Council and wish you every success in your work. I also wish to express our thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, who so skilfully and tactfully discharged the duties of President of the Council last month.

43. At this time the fortieth anniversary of the historic victory over fascism and nazism is being widely commemorated, a victory that was achieved by the joint efforts of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition. The Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to that victory. Together with other Soviet peoples, the Ukrainian people fought side by side with the Soviet Union in the flames of the Second World War. The victory indeed cost us dear. One out of every six inhabitants of the Ukraine laid down his life for the freedom and independence of his motherland and for the liberation of other peoples from the yoke of fascism.

44. Unfortunately, the main lesson of the Second World War—that States must strive for peace collectively, with respect for each other's sovereignty and independence—is being more and more frequently forgotten today by those who subordinate everything to their ambition for world hegemony.

45. A typical example is the situation prevailing in Central America. To serve its ambitions, Washington, in pursuing a policy of State terrorism and subversive activity against other States and peoples, has for many years now been aggravating the situation in that area and virtually waging an undeclared war against a small non-aligned country.

46. Once again the Security Council is called upon to consider an extremely serious situation which obtains in this part of the world as a result of further subversive action on the part of the United States. The imposition by Washington of trade and other sanctions against Nicaragua indicates once again that the United States is by no means anxious to seek a genuine settlement of Central American problems and is trying at all cost, and in defiance of generally recognized norms of international law, to force the Government and the people of Nicaragua to give up their independent path of development.

47. The latest actions of the United States Administration are a violation of the existing United States-Nicaragua Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation, the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States. These subversive activities run completely counter to a number of important documents approved by the General Assembly, such as the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*], the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281(XXIX)*] and the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], as well as all the universally recognized norms in established international practice.

48. As history has proved, a policy of economic diktat, blackmail and threats is fraught with very serious consequences which run counter to the interests and progress of mankind and involve a further deterioration of the international climate, in the final analysis constituting a threat to universal peace and security.

49. Recently we have been seeing that arbitrary and discriminatory sanctions are being used against the developing countries in order to cause them economic difficulties and thus to "punish" them for certain acts that are not to the liking of the imperialists. Whenever a developing country chooses the independent path of development and in the exercise of its sovereignty nationalizes the property of foreign monopolies, it may —in fact it does—become the victim of such economic sanctions. Measures of economic coercion are aimed at securing the invulnerability of foreign political and economic positions in particular countries and at preventing progressive social and economic reforms, thus maintaining those countries in a state of economic dependency.

50. Simply because the present Government of Nicaragua, which was elected by the people of that country, chose the democratic and independent path of development—a choice that dit not suit the United States—the United States has openly set itself the task of toppling the legal Government of Nicaragua. In choosing the means to achieve this end, the United States Administration did not shrink even from direct

intervention in the internal affairs of countries in that region or from the open threat of force or the policy of State terrorism. We have only to recall the mining of Nicaraguan ports by Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agents, the diversionary American assistance given by the CIA to terrorists and mercenary bands and other openly hostile actions of the United States against that country, which were referred to in the statement made by the representative of Nicaragua in the Security Council on 8 May [*2577th meeting*].

51. World public opinion is deeply concerned over the range and possible consequences of this policy in international economic relations as a whole, and in particular in Nicaragua, and demands its immediate cessation. The heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at their Seventh Conference, held at New Delhi in March 1983, rejected all forms of economic aggression, the use of threats in commerce, and all types of blockades and coercive measures or blackmail as a means of exerting political pressure against non-aligned and other developing countries. They reiterated the right of all States fully to exercise national sovereignty and to choose whatever social and economic systems they felt best served their own development goals.

52. The General Assembly, in resolution 39/210 appealed to countries to "refrain from threatening or applying trade restrictions, blockades, embargoes and other economic sanctions, incompatible with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations". The most recent hostile acts committed by the United States against Nicaragua quite clearly indicate why the United States voted against that resolution, which was supported by 116 States.

53. In their communiqué of 7 May this year, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries vigorously condemned the actions of the United States and emphasized that

> "these new acts of political and economic coercion, in addition to the military action, are to be seen in the context of a larger plan to destabilize and topple the Government of Nicaragua and that they further endanger peace and security in the region." [*See S/17163, annex.*]

54. It is extremely significant and suggestive that, at approximately the same time that Washington was proclaiming its measures aimed at aggravating the situation in and around Nicaragua and in Central America as a whole, in Managua a series of measures was also proclaimed which were directly aimed at creating a climate of peace and mutual trust in the area and which are a logical continuation of the peace-loving policies of the Government of Nicaragua, something which was also very cogently stated by the representative of Nicaragua in his statement. Unfortunately, Washington has turned down any constructive proposal put forward by the Nicaraguan Government. The latter was the first to support the efforts of the Contadora Group and the first to express its willingness to affix its signature to the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America. The Government of Nicaragua has proclaimed a liberal amnesty for all those who cease their counter-revolutionary activity. It has consistently taken a constructive position at the Nicaragua-United States talks at Manzanillo, which were broken off by the United States, and favoured their resumption.

55. Such a constructive attitude on the part of Nicaragua is the only way in which Central American problems can be resolved—the path of negotiations, taking into account the legitimate interests of all parties with full respect for their sovereignty.

56. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic stands squarely behind Nicaragua's just struggle against imperialism's aggressive inroads and supports its inalienable right to free and democratic development. We vigorously condemn the United States escalation of intervention in Central America and its subversive activities against Nicaragua, and we believe that the Security Council should take steps that will lead to the cessation of these acts of aggression and subversion against that country.

57. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) *(interpretation from French):* I am sure you will readily understand my personal satisfaction, Sir, at seeing you presiding over the work of the Security Council because of the friendship that has existed between us for some time. I should also like to avail myself of the opportunity to say how much I value the political sense and exquisite courtesy to which we have all become accustomed. To our President for the month of April, Mr. Arias Stella, I should like on behalf of my delegation to pay him a sincere tribute and to express our thanks for the sure-handed, well-thought-out and responsible way in which he directed our work. We expected no less of a person who was kind enough to make available to us his political experience and humanistic qualities.

58. It has become a commonplace to say that in recent decades most Central American countries have had to suffer social, economic and political injustice and that the situation there becomes more and more precarious as long as it remains subject to the caprices of international circumstances. The judgements that we can make about the underlying reasons for that crisis differ according to our ideologies, our options, our systems of values and the solidarity we share with others. Nevertheless it is a real crisis and it has, unfortunately, become a virtually permanent feature and has lost none of its acuteness. In less than three years the Council has taken up the matter nine times, while the Contadora Group, despite all the demands and counterdemands, has been trying to get all the parties inside and outside the region to accept a political and contractual framework within which normalization and stabilization of relations among the states concerned would be achieved.

59. At first sight there should be no divergency among us since we all, whether here at the United Nations, in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries or in the Contadora Group, base our beliefs on the same premises and the same tenets, which it is essential for us to respect if we want peace, understanding and co-operation, political and economic stability and security and coexistence to prevail in Central America. The fact that there is some imbalance between these various elements and that sometimes they are perceived according to national interests—and we witness accusations and couter-accusations, including the recent complaint by Nicaragua against the United States the Council is now considering—merely serves to illustrate this point.

60. The Council cannot overlook nor treat lightly the matter of trade and economic sanctions. The non-aligned countries have learned this to their cost whenever they have attempted to call for the application of such sanctions to the Pretoria régime, whose *apartheid* policy has, after all, been universally condemned and rejected.

61. If we are to abide strictly by the Charter and the solemn declarations and resolutions adopted by the United Nations, we wonder whether Nicaragua ought to be punished because it has decided its own future without any foreign interference under any pretext or in any context. Is it not true, according to the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, annexed to General Assembly resolution 36/103, that it is

> "The duty of a State, in the conduct of its international relations in the economic, social, technical and trade fields, to refrain from measures which would constitute interference or intervention in the internal or external affairs of another State, thus preventing it from determining freely its political, economic and social development"?

Who among us could seriously question the principle of international law which states that "no State may apply or encourage the use of economic, political or any other measures to constrain another State to subordinate the exercise of its sovereign rights and to obtain from it any kind of advantage whatsoever"?

62. It is therefore difficult to agree that the trade sanctions decreed by the United States against Nicaragua and the embargoes on air and sea traffic do not contravene these principles—some of which, we should recall, were solemnly reaffirmed at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization—and it is also difficult to agree that invoking the concept of national security is a sufficient argument to justify them. We deeply regret this step and believe that the Council cannot give its approval to the measures flowing therefrom.

63. The same considerations led the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on 7 May to adopt a communiqué [*S/17163, annex*] expressing our commitment to certain principles, our desire to preserve a just and coherent international legal and economic order, our solidarity with Nicaragua and our support for the efforts of the Contadora Group. Indeed, the vicissitudes of the Central American crisis confirm our belief that there can be only a political and negotiated solution if we wish to see the triumph of those principles and those commitments contained in the draft agreement submitted to the States concerned.

64. That is also why we support the draft resolution submitted by Nicaragua, for it contains the essential elements to which the Council has the right and the duty, in this particular case, to draw the attention of all parties concerned, that is: the necessity for respect for international law; the need for relations of friendship and co-operation among States, in accordance with the Charter; the pre-eminence of dialogue over direct or indirect confrontation; and, finally, the peaceful settlement of disputes.

65. If there is no desire to be mindful of these elements, we fear that the Contadora process is now blocked once and for all and that no other initiative can replace it. Nicaragua will therefore be quite right to come before the appropriate international bodies to seek the necessary arbitration, and we shall be constantly called upon to consider the matter until the crisis in Central America takes on such dimensions that it will be beyond our control and undoubtedly endanger regional and international peace and security.

66. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Bolivia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

67. Mr. GUMUCIO GRANIER (Bolivia) *(interpretation from Spanish):* Mr. President, my delegation thanks you for having given us the opportunity to take part in this meeting to consider a matter that is of concern to my country, respectful as it is of international law and a staunch supporter of peace and collective security. I wish also to express our satisfaction at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the Council. At the same time I express our gratitude to the representative of Peru and his delegation for the skilful guidance of the deliberations of the Council last month.

68. First, I wish to read out the statement issued in La Paz on 8 May by the Government of Bolivia:

[*The speaker read the text contained in the annex to document S/17189.*]

69. The Government of Bolivia has on many occasions publicly demonstrated its concern about the Central American situation. For instance, at the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the Constitutional President, Hernán Siles Zuazo, said: "The grave crisis affecting the brother countries of Central America is a cause of deep concern for my Government. Tension, threats and escalating violence are all

factors in the conflict which is developing",[2] increasingly weakening the foundations of peace. The President added that the peoples of Central America had already suffered too much under totalitarian régimes to have to suffer the horrible scourge of war.

70. Furthermore, the Government of Bolivia has in many forums expressed its solidarity with the Government and people of Nicaragua in their efforts to carry out fully the process of their liberating revolution, which entails the establishment of a democratic, pluralistic system and of a mixed economy system, guaranteeing a more equitable distribution of income so that a new society may be built on the basis of genuine participation by the people.

71. My Government, for those reasons, has constantly supported the process undertaken by the Contadora Group; we believe that it is the only valid and still viable option, within the Latin American family, in the quest for real and specific solutions to the Central American conflict. The real meaning of Contadora is that it is a genuine reply of the region, without the participation or distortion entailed by interference by protagonists from outside the region.

72. Bolivia, which in 1952 underwent a profound social transformation achieved through the establishment of a model of a national liberating revolution, fully understands the present difficulties in Central America, difficulties which are the result of social tensions arising from the attempt to overcome injustice and backwardness through the building of a more just and equitable order.

73. The experience of the Bolivian revolution also has enabled us to realize that the establishment or strengthening of basic institutions takes a certain amount of time and requires the right atmosphere. It is worthwhile mentioning that during the early years of the Bolivian revolution there were certain sectors within and outside the country that rejected the revolution and conspired against it. At that time, they even tried to impose an economic blockade and to jeopardize the free transit of goods, taking advantage of the structural problems that Bolivia was experiencing because of its maritime isolation resulting from an unjust war of conquest. Today, 33 years after the epic event of April 1952, the revolutionary changes are irreversible; they are the basis of the new national State.

74. I must note that those who opposed the revolutionary changes in Bolivia—that is, the counter-revolutionaries—knocked on the doors of Governments of neighbouring countries and sought aid from them, including the United States. Fortunately, they were not heard, and here I must comment that in the case of the United States the wise and timely advice given by Mr. Milton Eisenhower, who recently died, was very important. He pointed out to the Administration in Washington that the deep social changes that were being experienced by Bolivia and that undoubtedly would take place subsequently in other Latin American countries were socio-economic changes that had to be understood in a broad historical context.

75. For the countries of the region, peace and collective security can be based only on the principles of inter-American and international law. The Charter of the United Nations, the charter of the Organization of American States and many other legal instruments enshrine the right of the peoples to self-determination, non-intervention in domestic affairs and respect for the territorial integrity and political and economic independence of States. I must specifically mention the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted by General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV); the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, adopted by Assembly resolution 36/103; the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, adopted by Assembly resolution 37/10; and, finally, Assembly resolution 39/210, adopted at the last session. In all those resolutions and declarations the principles of the coexistence of States are reaffirmed; some of them provide that States must abstain from the threat or the use of trade restrictions, blockades, embargoes and other economic sanctions that are incompatible with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and infringe bilateral commitments.

76. For those reasons, my Government deplores the decision of the United States Government to impose an economic and trade embargo against the Republic of Nicaragua. That action can only increase even more the suffering of the people of Nicaragua, the victim of the Somoza dictatorship, one of the worst and most shameful ever to have been seen in Latin America. We also urge the United States and Nicaragua to resume dialogue and negotiation in the context of international law and, in particular, the legal norms that have been created and perfected in Latin American law.

77. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

78. Mr. NYAMDOO (Mongolia) *(interpretation from Russian)*: I sincerely congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May and wish you every success in the performance of your duties. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, for all he did as President of the Security Council last month.

79. The steps recently taken by the United States Administration against the Republic of Nicaragua, in particular the comprehensive trade embargo and the cessation of air and sea communications between the two countries, have rightly been judged by international public opinion to be crude acts of coercion and

blackmail that are at variance with the norms of the international legal and economic orders.

80. It is no secret that from the first days of the victory of the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua the United States has been taking various steps to destabilize the situation in that country and to overthrow its legitimate Government. To that end it has been carrying out increased financing and training of Somozist bands, supplying them with the most modern types of weapons and directing criminal subversive and terrorist activities against Nicaragua and its peaceful population. Recently that Administration has been stepping up its hostile and aggressive acts against the Republic of Nicaragua. It has been escalating its military presence in Central America and expanding its intervention in the affairs of the countries of that area. All this has seriously undermined the efforts of the world community and the Contadora Group to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Central American problem and created a direct threat to the sovereignty and independence of Nicaragua and to peace and security in the region.

81. The measures of economic pressure adopted by the United States therefore represent a further dangerous escalation of its interventionist policies against Nicaragua. Judging by what we learn from the United States press, these measures are only the beginning of an even more far-reaching aggressive plan on the part of Washington.

82. This situation has caused serious alarm in the international community. As the Council is aware, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement adopted a short time ago a communiqué [*S/17163, annex*] vigorously condemning the steps taken recently by Washington and its aggressive policy towards Nicaragua.

83. The Mongolian People's Republic, in keeping with its policy in favour of peace, totally rejects any policy of diktat directed against sovereign, independent States. The unilateral imposition by the United States of an embargo on trade and economic relations is a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the fundamental principles and norms of international law and specific obligations undertaken by the United States both bilaterally and multilaterally.

84. The Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the position of the Government of Nicaragua as set forth in the statement made by Mr. Chamorro Mora in the Security Council on Wednesday [*2577th meeting*]. We believe that the Council should vigorously condemn the illegal acts of the United States and demand the immediate ending of all aggressive acts by the United States against a sovereign and independent State Member of this Organization, the Republic of Nicaragua. At the same time, the Council should do everything possible to encourage the efforts being made by the Contadora Group to find a peaceful solution to the problems of the Central American region and to establish lasting peace in that part of the world.

85. The Mongolian People's Republic has consistently supported the Government and people of friendly Nicaragua. This policy was reiterated in the declaration made by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on 22 April, which was recently issued in an official General Assembly document, A/40/269. It states, *inter alia*:

> "If the United States is really interested in establishing peace in Central America, it should first refrain from attempts to strangle the Sandinist people's revolution, cease its policy of State terrorism against Nicaragua and resume the talks with that country which it broke off.
>
> "The Mongolian People's Republic fully and whole-heartedly supports both the just struggle of the Nicaraguan people, who are defending their freedom, independence and revolutionary achievements from the encroachments of imperialism and reaction, and the peace initiatives of the Government of Nicaragua aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the problem of Central America.
>
> "The Mongolian People's Republic firmly demands that the United States Administration should stop its criminal activities, which amount in effect to an undeclared war against the Republic of Nicaragua."

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, vol. I, 15th meeting, para. 38.

[2] *Ibid., Thirty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, vol. III, 84th meeting, para. 31.

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UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

FORTIETH YEAR

2580th MEETING: 10 MAY 1985

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Page

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2580) 1

Adoption of the agenda 1

Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156) 1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/...) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2580th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 10 May 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Birabhongse KASEMSRI (Thailand).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2580)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156).

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 6 May 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/17156)

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item [*2577th to 2579th meetings*], I invite the representative of Nicaragua to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Guatemala, Guyana, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mexico, Mongolia, Poland, the United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Mr. Maciel (Brazil), Mr. Albán-Holguin (Colombia), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Dinka (Ethiopia), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Fajardo-Maldonado (Guatemala), Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Vongsay (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Nyamdoo (Mongolia), Mr. Nowak (Poland), Mr. Lweno (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Security Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Costa Rica, Honduras, Spain and the Syrian Arab Republic, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Berrocal Soto (Costa Rica), Mr. Herrera Cáceres (Honduras), Mr. de Piniés (Spain) and Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker is the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, on whom I now call.

4. Mr. MOHAMMED (Trinidad and Tobago): My delegation would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council—all the more as this is the first time in its history that Thailand has had the honour of presiding over the Council. You bring to the presidency considerable personal charm and dignity as well as diplomatic skill and we look forward to a successful month under your presidency. My delegation would like to pay a tribute also to the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, who was President for the month of April. We benefited greatly not only from his diplomatic capacity but also from his professional skills.

5. My delegation would like to express its deep concern over the present situation in Central America. Trinidad and Tobago regrets the recent actions which have increased tensions and aggravated the existing critical situation in the area. These actions not only impede the complex and delicate process of negotiations being carried out at present, but also threaten peace and security of the region.

6. Trinidad and Tobago shares the view that the problems of the countries of the region are rooted in their social and economic conditions, and we believe that these problems should not be drawn into the wider East-West context. We believe that the problems facing Central America can be resolved only through frank and constructive dialogue between the interested parties.

7. Trinidad and Tobago urges the parties involved to make all possible efforts to reduce tensions and to solve the problems of the area through political and diplomatic channels, through the process of negotiations. In this respect my delegation notes the references made by the parties involved in their statements before the Council to their continuing support for the Contadora process as the best means of obtaining a peaceful settlement of the problems of the region. We continue to support fully the efforts of the Contadora Group to achieve a negotiated settlement of the conflict. Trinidad and Tobago also hopes that, in the same vein, the United States of America and Nicaragua will soon resume their bilateral talks, for it is only through frank and constructive dialogue that the differences and concerns of each can be effectively aired and resolved.

8. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Colombia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

9. Mr. ALBÁN-HOLGUÍN (Colombia) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: You are well aware, Sir, of my delegation's satisfaction at your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We congratulate you and are convinced that, given your talent and experience, you will conduct the proceedings of the Council efficiently and objectively. I should also like to pay a tribute to the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council in April.

10. I wish to extend my thanks to the members of the Council for allowing me to speak this afternoon.

11. In the two statements which he made in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives in April last, the President of Colombia, Belisario Betancur, referring to the Contadora Group, said:

> "The Contadora philosophy and action are based on the need to provide metaphysical, timely and meritorious responses to the subjective and objective forces that are at work in any subversive process. For that reason, the Contadora Act points toward:
>
> "The defense and promotion of democracy in the Central American isthmus through the free pluralist election of representative governments and institutions, eliminating any interference in internal affairs and any destabilizing action against the Governments of the region;
>
> "Providing opponents the scope they need to tackle together the solution of the national and international problems of their countries on the basis of reconciliation;
>
> "Dealing in a dignified manner with the subjective or personal aspects of subversion so that no one need any longer go into exile or under ground, and there will remain only free people in our countries, convinced that in democracy all ideologies can coexist without fear;
>
> "Making subversion impossible by uprooting the objective factors that cause it and providing financial support for social infrastructures such as hospitals, schools, water mains, food production, sewerage systems, employment, cheap credit and fair prices for products;
>
> "Resolving conflicts by peaceful means, through dialogue and the rejection of any form of military intervention, for it is our conviction that a subversive wave would otherwise sweep over all of Latin America and the Caribbean.
>
> "Consequently Central America must be demilitarized, and foreign military advisers must go."

12. My Government believes strongly in these principles. The Contadora Group is an invitation to resolve these problems of common concern to America and all mankind and, further, of fundamental interest to the free civilization of the West.

13. Given these beliefs, my Government has expressed its concern at and deplored the decision of the United States Government to adopt economic measures against Nicaragua. Such action does not foster a policy of dialogue, which is the only way to bring about a lasting settlement of the Central American crisis. Such measures have never produced the effects intended. When taken against such a poor country going through a serious economic crisis, such action can only make the people more radical; they will stand together in the face of hardship and their nationalism will be strengthened. Such action will, moreover, leave only the terrible risk of bitterness in its wake.

14. Colombia and the Contadora Group defend the desire for progress, not poverty; the right to development, not backwardness; the cause of peace, not the cause of war.

15. Good judgement always requires that people get together before fighting, that there be a dialogue before innocent people—women and children—pay an incredible toll in suffering and hunger in the midst of conflicts, when there should be conciliation and negotiations. Intelligence, imagination, persuasiveness, improved living standards—these are the things that will make it possible for mankind to avoid worse evils.

16. The international community has given its unanimous support to the major efforts of the Contadora Group. It is well aware of the origins of the Central American problems and of the difficult course the region is following towards true democracy and the inevitable social and economic reforms.

17. The distinguished banker, William T. Bolin, recalled not long ago that in the past Central America has not lacked prosperity, for in the years following the Second World War it experienced one of the most spectacular successes in economic development, with rates of growth of 5.2 per cent per annum in the 1950s, 7.7 per cent in the 1960s and 7.8 per cent in the 1970s. However, everything changed because of the restrictions of the industrialized countries and the economic crisis, which produced a powerful recession. It has not been possible to begin to come out of that recession, not even when the major Powers began to reactivate their economies. We believe that timely economic assistance can lead the region once again to economic and social development. If the region asks that the hand of friendship be extended, it does not want weapons and military advisers, but elements contributing to education, health, crops and construction.

18. We have said on a number of occasions that the supreme responsibility today is to ensure economic development and that in our war the only enemy is poverty. Everything at this moment in history is subordinated to that. The danger is that the powerful human need for better livings standards will not be understood. It has been said, very aptly, that in economic development there is a tremendous force working for positive aspects, and there is a devastating energy working for negative aspects.

19. The Contadora Group has sought solidarity and co-operation in the great enterprise of reconciliation, peace and development in the Central American area. It has done so in the belief that it is defending the lofty values with which it feels empathy. And now the major Powers, on whose doors the Contadora Group has knocked in search of assistance, must contribute to the development of the backward peoples of the area and offer what is needed: the opportunity to solve their own problems, with due respect for their sovereign rights and their right to self-determination.

20. Colombia is proud to be a State based on law and organized on the basis of very clear political and social principles. We are not indifferent to the urgent need to preserve the international legal order and for that order to be respected by all. If it is disrupted, peace, democracy, freedom, respect for human rights and social justice will be jeopardized.

21. International law, which was initially based on *jus gentium*, originated in the need to defend the weak from arbitrary action and the use of force in international relations. That is why we must express our concern at acts which infringe legal mandates.

22. There are certain basic principles without which the maintenance of international peace and security would be impossible. These include the sovereign equality of all nations, big and small; the self-determination of peoples; the prohibition of intervention in the internal affairs of States; the duty to fulfil in good faith obligations arising from treaties and other sources of law; the obligation to settle international disputes by peaceful means; and the prohibition of any violation of the integrity or political independence of any State. We would remind the Council that these principles have been included in the Charter of the United Nations and in the charter of the Organization of American States.

23. Colombia has expressed its firm determination to continue the Contadora peace efforts in order to seek Latin American formulations having nothing to do with the East-West conflict, but aimed at strengthening peace, freedom and democracy in Central America.

24. For all these reasons, we sincerely believe that in the present circumstances what is needed is a bold policy that will improve co-operation between and with the countries of Central America. There must be no more hatred, thoughtlessness or threats, which will only promote action by outside forces.

25. Colombia also believes that it is of the utmost importance for the Government of Nicaragua to undertake forthwith a frank and open dialogue with the democratic opposition in its country to bring about national reconciliation. At the same time, we have urged the United States and Nicaragua to resume their talks at an early date, with a view to settling the present dispute.

26. Finally, I should like to congratulate the representative of Peru, who yesterday [*2578th meeting*] presented a visionary interpretation of what is, what can be, what should be, the Latin American continent, which, after the upheavals of its history, must provide a homeland for the millions of people who live there.

27. I also express the gratitude of my Government for the understanding of the members of the European Economic Community of the economic and social problems of Central America, understanding that will certainly lead to vigorous programmes taking the region towards social justice and economic development. At the meeting at San José, Costa Rica, in September 1984 the foreign ministers of the European countries, of the members of the Contadora Group and of Central American countries outlined systems of co-operation that can be perfected at the forthcoming meeting of the same partners. We express our firm and vigorous support for that process of co-operation.

28. Our primary goal is peace, the kind of peace that is not only the absence of war, but the full application of social and economic justice throughout the world.

29. Colombia reaffirms its faith in dialogue and its determination to co-operate in the search for a broad,

lasting political solution to the conflicts of the troubled Central American region.

30. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Zimbabwe, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

31. Mr. MUDENGE (Zimbabwe): I wish, Mr. President, to join the many others who have already spoken in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. My delegation is confident that in your experienced hands the business of the Council will prosper during this month.

32. The imposition of sanctions on the small nation of Nicaragua by a super-Power, and a permanent member of this body, is a matter of great concern to the international community. The imposition of sanctions is a grave step which the Charter has reserved for use in certain well-defined circumstances that threaten international peace and security. It is a measure to be invoked when peaceful methods of resolving a problem have been exhausted. It should not be a weapon used in order to bully small, poor nations.

33. It is difficult to fathom how a small struggling nation of 3 million people like Nicaragua can constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the richest and most powerful nation on Earth—the United States.

34. Nicaragua has demonstrated its bona fides in countless ways: it has accepted fully the proposals of the Contadora Group; it stands ready to follow the peace process initiated at Manzanillo; and it has subjected itself to international scrutiny by placing the dispute before the International Court of Justice. And yet the response from the other side has been a naval blockade, an economic blockade and menacing military manoeuvres close to its borders, as well as the fomenting, financing, training and arming of bandits against it.

35. It is sad to watch a small nation being punished for daring to be free, free to choose its own socio-political system. We are told that Nicaragua intends to become a Soviet satellite, that it intends to build a big army, that it intends to destabilize its neighbours. Therefore, in order to nip in the bud those imagined future intentions, naval and economic embargoes and other aggressive measures have to be taken against it. This comes from a Power which has consistently and energetically opposed the imposition of sanctions against the evil régime in South Africa, which régime is not at the stage of intending to do or not to do this or that, but is actually implementing its wicked policies.

36. Thanks in part to technology, such as IBM computers and weaponry, delivered to South Africa by that same super-Power and its principal allies, South Africa has the power to destabilize its neighbours. It has occupied Nambia for 15 years, in defiance of numerous United Nations resolutions. It practises an evil doctrine of racial bigotry called *apartheid*, which the international community has declared to be a crime against humanity. It has constitutionally disfranchised and denationalized nearly 80 per cent of its population. It is ruled by a small clique of racist bigots, some of whose leaders were interned during the Second World War for espousing fascist doctrines of racial purity that led to the despicable holocaust of the Hitlerite era. It is a country that has occupied over a third of the territory of Angola for a long time and has recruited, trained, financed and armed gangs of bandits in order to destabilize its neighbours of Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This litany of iniquities is a matter of public record. I catalogue the outrages only in order to highlight the sharp contradictions evident in the way that the super-Power concerned has reacted to the two situations.

37. In the case of South Africa there has been no mention of the need to impose sanctions. Indeed, the Power in question has repeatedly vetoed Security Council draft resolutions on sanctions against *apartheid* South Africa. While the Pretoria régime daily massacres its citizens, the United States speaks of "constructive engagement" and attempts to persuade us that dialogue, where South Africa is concerned, is more effective than coercive measures.

38. We cannot but ask why there is this contradiction in the policies pursued by that Power. It would seem to us that in its wish to discriminate against States pursuing a certain social and political system it is prepared to violate international law. If, as we believe, this is so, we find this discrimination to be in violation of the provisions of the Charter and of General Assembly resolutions which call for peaceful coexistence between States with differing social and political systems.

39. Specifically, we find this action to be in violation of article 19 of the charter of the Organization of American States, which unequivocally states that

> "No State may use or encourage the use of coercive measures of an economic or political character in order to force the sovereign will of another State and obtain from it advantages of any kind."

40. We find the same actions also to be inimical to General Assembly resolution 39/210 of 18 December 1984, which, *inter alia*, calls on the developed countries to

> "refrain from threatening or applying trade restrictions, blockades, embargoes and other economic sanctions, incompatible with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and in violation of undertakings contracted multilaterally or bilaterally, against developing countries as a form of political and economic coercion which affects their economic, political and social development".

41. What we have here is an attempt to terrify—nay, to terrorize, for this is nothing short of economic terrorism—a small Central American State into abandoning its chosen social and political system.

42. It must be stated that, in fact, Nicaragua is allowed by the Charter to exist in the Western hemisphere with the social and political system of its choice. Its system has not been condemned by the generality of mankind, as has that of South Africa. It is in that sense that, while coercive measures are acceptable *vis-à-vis* the evil system of *apartheid* in South Africa, they cannot be so against Nicaragua. With this fact in mind we can say that Nicaragua should be protected from embargoes by the various General Assembly resolutions on the need for States not to resort to coercive economic measures.

43. It is our view that the imposition of an embargo on Nicaragua does not augur well for the prospects for peace in Central America. It is a blunt instrument, callously employed, and it solves nothing. All it does is aggravate tension in Central America and thereby vitiate the efforts of the Contadora Group. In this sense we find the move particularly unhelpful in that it all but rules out bilateral talks between the super-Power concerned and Nicaragua, which talks we had hoped would inject momentum into the Contadora efforts to seek a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

44. Neither are we convinced of the legality, and therefore the acceptability, of this act. It violates the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States that was adopted by General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX) in 1974; it violates the Charter of the United Nations; and it violates the charter of the Organization of American States, an organization of which both parties to the dispute are members.

45. We are perturbed at the contemptuous rejection by the super-Power concerned of repeated proposals for peaceful settlement of the crisis in Central America that have emanated not only from Managua but also from the Contadora Group and from various capitals in Central America and the rest of Latin America. How should we read this disdainful casting aside of all these attempts at a peaceful resolution of the conflict? Is it just a lack of respect for international law and the norms of international conduct? Is it the scorn of a super-Power for the concerns of a small, struggling third-world country? Or is it just the arrogance or pugnacity of the powerful when confronted with the determination of the weak?

46. We have heard the super-Power in question declare that it too favours a peaceful resolution of the conflict, but at what price to the Nicaraguans? It is the terms on which such a peaceful settlement can be achieved that worries us. To demand that Nicaragua should say "uncle" to the super-Power is the height of arrogance. "Uncle Tomism" is not an accepted concept in international relations; it is obnoxious to the principles of the Charter, which emphasize the equality of sovereign States.

47. Therefore, the issue before the Council today is truly one of global concern. At stake here today is not the fate of Nicaragua alone, but that of all those small, militarily weak nations of which my own is one. It is in view of this that my country has chosen to participate in this debate today, in order to assert again the right of all States, big and small, rich and poor, to live in peace with all their neighbours under their own chosen social and political system, without interference from any quarter.

48. For us, there is no alternative to reason in our conduct of international relations. Since reason is our most powerful weapon, we are disturbed if we see it cast aside in dealings between States, any States. A world where rules and established norms of conduct and morality are not respected is a very dangerous one for all of us. We do not see morality, or indeed legality, in the application of coercive measures against a legitimate Government trying to protect its sovereignty. We do not see merit in actions designed to block all avenues of peaceful resolution of conflicts. We do not believe in a policy of diktat in dealings between Governments.

49. As a party to the Charter of the United Nations and the charters of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity, we are frustrated when some of the most important provisions of those documents are disregarded. It is our belief that major Powers should set an example of respect for law and order rather than being the first to flout them. A safe world is a world which is safe for everyone.

50. We still hope that the action that has triggered this meeting of the Security Council can be rescinded. We believe very strongly in the need for peaceful settlement of disputes and in the inadmissibility of coercive measures, whether political, economic or military, in dealings between the weak and the strong nations.It is our belief that the only lasting solution to the Central American crisis is a political one. We therefore hope that all the parties to the dispute will keep this in mind, and confine their efforts to peaceful negotiations. It would be very regrettable if considerations of national pride were allowed to stand in the way of such a civilized course.

51. For our part, we shall do our best to encourage those concerned who favour a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

52. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

53. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): I should like first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May.

Your diplomatic skill and experience will, I am sure, greatly contribute to the successful work of this important body. I avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, for the successful and inspiring guidance of the Council during the month of April.

54. It is the political and economic inequality and social injustice expressed in exploitation and the inherent love of freedom that inspire peoples and countries to engage in a struggle for self-determination and for national, political and cultural equality and independence. Wherever there are attempts to preserve the obsolete relationship of domination, those attempts are being resisted in different ways but with ever stronger resolve.

55. While this resolve is motivated by an urge to be free and independent, in some quarters it is being perceived as an issue of the relationship between two military-political blocs; in effect it is perceived as an East-West issue. This not only blurs the issue and confuses the causes and consequences but is also directly detrimental to the cause of independence, peace and security. Moreover, this perception serves as a backdrop for interventions, overt and covert, armed and political, and for unilateral sanctions and coercive measures of a political and economic nature, including economic blockade or trade embargo. All those measures are outside and well beyond the limit of acceptability in international relations today.

56. There is no need for tragic mistakes to be repeated. The use of force or of economic, political or military pressure has never resolved questions brought about by the lack of economic and social development.

57. Economic coercive measures are not only unacceptable from the point of view of international relations as such; they are, in the present international economic crisis and in times when developing countries are languishing under the debt burden, an additional, strong element of insecurity and disorder affecting international economic relations at large.

58. We detect all those elements in the present situation in Central America, particularly in Nicaragua. The right of any and all States Members of the United Nations, including Nicaragua, to self-determination and independence should not be questioned or threatened. The right to self-determination is the paramount and sacrosanct rule of international life and one of the basic principles of the Charter; it cannot be negotiated.

59. However, all outstanding issues could and should be settled politically, in a peaceful way, through negotiation and dialogue. The Charter and the principles of the policy of non-alignment are the best framework for any political settlement, but it should be recalled that they exclude any use of force and any form of pressure, political or economic.

60. The non-aligned countries, abiding by the principles of the policy of non-alignment, have always been the firmest supporters of independence for all peoples—including the Nicaraguan people. They reconfirmed this at the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held on 7 May of this year. We of Yugoslavia and the non-aligned countries in general are convinced supporters of the Contadora Group. Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela have elaborated in the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*S/16775, annex*] the principles on which peace and co-operation in that area should rest. Among the principles they have outlined are: the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States; the peaceful settlement of disputes; non-interference; co-operation between States; equal rights and sef-determination of peoples and the promotion of respect for human rights; sovereign equality; refraining from disciplinary practices in economic relations between States by respecting their systems of political, economic and social organization; and the fulfilment in good faith of obligations assumed under international law. We feel that the international community should encourage the Contadora Group to continue its peace efforts.

61. It is to be hoped that the forthcoming meeting between the Contadora countries and the representatives of the Governments of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala, to be held in Panama in mid-May, will contribute to the search for a peaceful solution of the issues of Central America and to the adoption and speedy implementation of the Contadora Act.

62. Finally, the Charter of the United Nations says that parties to a dispute should seek solution by negotiation. We wish that the interrupted dialogue between Nicaragua and the United States of America would be renewed, since political and negotiated solutions hold the longest.

63. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

64. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) *(interpretation from French)*: The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic would like to join previous speakers and congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of May. We are convinced that under your skilful guidance the Council will be able to take the necessary steps to put an end to the series of acts of aggression to which the Republic of Nicaragua has been subjected by a permanent member of the Security Council and, consequently, give its support to the victim of this aggression. I should like to pay a particular tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, for the exemplary way in which he conducted the Council's work during the past

month. My delegation would also like to thank the Council for having permitted us to participate in the debate on the item now before it.

65. My delegation listened with close attention to the statement made last Wednesday in the Council [*2577th meeting*] by Mr. Javier Chamorro Mora, the representative of the Republic of Nicaragua, concerning the escalating aggression to which his Government and people have been subjected by the Administration of President Reagan. It is a matter of public record that the draconian measures taken recently by the occupant of the White House—namely, the total economic and trade embargo against Nicaragua and the suspension of the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation signed in January 1956 between the two countries—constitute a declaration of a brutal and immoral economic war of aggression by an imperialist super-Power against a small, independent, sovereign, peace-loving and non-aligned country.

66. This new act of provocation should not particularly puzzle or surprise us, because the whole world knows that the United States Government, from the first days of the glorious victory of the Sandinist revolution in July 1979, has sworn to move heaven and earth to stifle and topple the revolutionary Government of that country, which is not in its pay as was the dictatorial Somoza band. This is the substance of the problem which must always be borne in mind if we wish to understand the political, economic and social crisis which seems to be an endemic feature of Central America, particularly since Washington has never concealed its sinister intentions with regard to revolutionary Nicaragua.

67. A series of acts of provocation, intervention and military aggression taking the form of economic blockade, political assassination, kidnapping, massacres of the defenceless civilian population, economic sabotage, large-scale military manoeuvres of long duration and the mining of ports, all carried out by the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) directly and through the Somozist counter-revolutionary bands which have found asylum in countries neighbouring on Nicaragua, has prompted the Sandinist Government to complain many times to the Security Council. This policy of intervention and aggression conducted by the United States Government in that part of the world obviously represents a serious threat to peace and security in the region and internationally. It was precisely to control the situation and to find a negotiated political solution to the crisis that is shaking Central America that the General Assembly adopted by consensus resolutions 38/10 and 39/4. Thus the peace initiatives emanating from the Contadora Group and from the Nicaraguan Government were welcomed and vigorously supported by the entire international community.

68. It should be emphasized, furthermore, that in their just and legitimate struggle to preserve their revolutionary achievements the Government and the heroic people of Nicaragua have always enjoyed the firm support of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries, whose Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government called for an end to all hostile acts against that country.

69. The Lao delegation, like others, believes that the comprehensive economic and trade embargo and the other connected hostile measures recently decreed by the occupant of the White House against Nicaragua are tainted with illegality, contrary to the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States and ride roughshod over the relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and Security Council. These hostile, reprehensible acts also violate the fundamental principles in the relevant declarations of the General Assembly, in particular those concerning non-interference in the internal and external affairs of other States and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

70. Finally, this political, economic and military vendetta—to use an expression that was recently employed by the leaders of a European Labour party—has struck a mortal blow at peace initiatives and efforts of the Contadora Group, for which the United States Administration has proclaimed its support—in words, at least.

71. Honest people of good faith recognize that the Government of the Republic of Nicaragua has always shown good will and flexibility both in applying the principles and fulfilling the commitments contained in the Contadora Act and in its position in the different series of bilateral talks held at Manzanillo since the summer of 1984 between the representatives of the United States and of Nicaragua. We know also that it is the American side which in January this year unilaterally broke off those talks, although their usefulness had been recognized by both sides from the outset. The United States Government has now arrogantly demanded that revolutionary Nicaragua enter into direct negotiations with the criminal counter-revolutionary band, the henchmen of the CIA. Quite obviously the Sandinist Government has categorically rejected this diktat, this ultimatum, the effect of which would be to compel revolutionary Nicaragua to give up the inalienable and fundamental national right to independence, sovereignty and freedom which it regained through a bitter struggle. This just and legitimate position was spelt out clearly in the statement made here last Wednesday by the representative of Nicaragua.

72. The United States President, to justify his reprehensible action, has alleged that Nicaragua, a small, poor country, represents an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of that imperialist colossus. The opposite is indeed the case. That puerile and specious argument could convince only a person bereft of sense, blind and sick.

73. It is not surprising, therefore, that this inhuman measure has provoked a wave of protest throughout the

world and even among the informed American public. It is truly regrettable that the United States Government stubbornly refuses to learn the lessons of the past. A recent public opinion poll in the United States indicated that the vast majority of Americans oppose the adventurist, interventionist policy of their Government in Central America and elsewhere in the world precisely because they were traumatized by the horrors and nightmare of the American war of aggression against the three Indo-Chinese countries, from which the United States emerged the sorry loser.

74. The three peoples of Indo-China have serious reasons to redouble their vigilance because imperialist forces, in collusion with expansionist and hegemonist forces, continue their attempts at political, economic and military destabilization of the socialist régimes which have been set up in those countries. They use, as the United States Government did in the case of Nicaragua, criminal bands of counter-revolutionaries, fed, armed and trained in camps set up on the soil of certain neighbouring countries, as instruments of various kinds of sabotage and destabilization against Laos, as against Viet Nam and Kampuchea.

75. In the case of Laos, the international community is following with concern and sympathy the acts of aggression and territorial occupation against that small, peace-loving country by the extreme-right regional forces. This interventionist policy on the part of imperialist and expansionist forces quite clearly strikes a blow at the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the three countries of Indo-China. It also represents a grave threat to peace and stability in that part of the world.

76. To return to Nicaragua, my delegation, while denouncing and condemning the escalation of aggression to which that country is now being subjected by the United States Administration, associates itself completely with the spirit and the letter of the communiqué adopted on Tuesday at the special meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries [*S/17163, annex*]. That communiqué called for an end to the hostile acts and declared that a negotiated political solution should be sought in the context of the peace efforts of the Contadora Group and the bilateral talks in Manzanillo, which were unilaterally broken off by the United States at the beginning of this year. The resumption of such talks is therefore highly desirable. The Lao delegation believes that the Security Council, which under the Charter bears the primary responsibility for preserving peace and regional and international security, should take the necessary steps to put an end to the aggression of which Nicaragua is victim and to contribute to the search for a mutually acceptable negotiated political solution on the basis of mutual respect and respect for the right to self-determination. The Lao Government and people wish to reaffirm here their unswerving support for the just cause of the Government and the heroic people of Nicaragua.

77. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Ecuador. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

78. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) *(interpretation from Spanish):* Mr. President, I thank you and the members of the Security Council for allowing me to participate in this debate, under Article 31 of the Charter, on a subject of special interest for the entire Latin American region. I congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the present month, which will surely be enhanced by your personal prestige, skill and experience and by the age-old independence of your country. We also pay a tribute to the outstanding performance of the President of the Council last month, Mr. Javier Arias Stella.

79. Ecuador has come before the Council to repeat what it has said on past occasions regarding its strict observance of the principles of the self-determination of peoples and non-intervention in any form whatsoever. Those principles are the corner-stone of the international system of law and of peaceful coexistence among countries and could guide us in the search for solutions to the present problem, the grave situation in the Central American region, as described by the representative of the sister republic of Nicaragua.

80. That is why Ecuador reaffirms its constant support for the action of the countries of the Contadora Group as one possible mechanism that should intensify its efforts to find ways to put an end to the problems affecting the Central American region. A united position by the five countries of that region and acts of dialogue and negotiation are both desirable and necessary for that to be achieved. It is also desirable to try to avoid at all costs the transfer of East-West tensions to the new world. This action should lead, we hope, to a peaceful settlement of disputes, which is the primary goal of the Security Council in performing its lofty functions.

81. The delegation of Ecuador expresses the hope that measures adopted in the Council, in the Contadora Group or any action taken by member countries will be aimed at reducing tension and restoring a climate of understanding and dialogue and promoting the democratic way of life that should characterize the countries of our region and of the whole world.

82. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Dominican Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

83. Mr. KNIPPING VICTORIA (Dominican Republic) *(interpretation from Spanish):* Mr. President, first of all I wish to express to you my delegation's great pleasure and my own at seeing you conducting our proceedings. Your presence at the head of the Security Council clearly guarantees that our work will proceed efficiently and fairly. I also wish to take this opportu-

nity to congratulate Mr. Arias Stella of Peru on his splendid work as President of the Council last month. Finally, and through you, I thank the members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to take part in this debate.

84. Because of the recent events that are having a direct influence on the situation in Central America, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic has made known, in a press communiqué, the position of principle of the Dominican Government regarding the crisis affecting the Central American region. That communiqué once again reiterates the Dominican Government's unshakeable devotion to peace, its constant support for the norms and principles of international law and above all its firm conviction that only through a democratic and pluralist régime can there be created the conditions needed to attain social justice and general well-being for our peoples.

85. The communiqué reads as follows:

> "The Dominican Government views with great concern the obvious intensification of the Central American conflict, in particular the circumstances that culminated recently in the embargo decreed by the United States of America on its trade relations with Nicaragua. These events reflect an ominous stage of confrontation that could give rise to a generalized outbreak of war, which should be avoided at all costs.
>
> "The Dominican Government considers it appropriate to reiterate its abiding view that only a negotiated peace, in keeping with the means and principles of international law, particularly those enshrined in the inter-American system and the Charter of the United Nations, can guarantee a genuine and effective solution to this serious conflict. It reaffirms its conviction that the peace efforts undertaken by the Contadora Group, which have always been supported by the Dominican Republic, are the best way to achieve both peace and social justice and the strengthening of democratic institutions called for by the brother peoples of Central America.
>
> "Thus the Dominican Government believes that in order to achieve a speedy solution to the Central American conflict, strictest respect for the principles of non-intervention and the self-determination of peoples is required, as stressed in the Document of Objectives adopted within the framework of the Contadora negotiations. Therefore any outside intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of Central America must be eliminated.
>
> "Finally, the Government of the Dominican Republic urges all the parties involved in the Central American conflict to exert urgent efforts to create a climate propitious to the effective resumption of constructive dialogue. In particular, it calls on the Central American countries to pursue unswervingly the path of their negotiations within the Contadora context. These negotiations not only have shown the viability of the agreements that are sought, but also are broadly supported by the majority of the peoples and Governments of the international community."

86. Thus, just as we are convinced that dialogue is indispensable to the relaxation of tension and to peace in Central America, so do we believe that it is necessary at the same time to undertake another great political dialogue to study in depth, in regard not only to the Central American region but globally, the underlying causes of the unjust economic, financial, political and social structures that are precisely the factors that create and foster those tensions and social upheavals.

87. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Guyana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

88. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): I wish, at the outset, Mr. President, to state how gratified my delegation is to see your consummate diplomatic skills and your urbanity at the service of the Security Council in this month of May. These skills, along with your good judgement and your knowledge of the work of the Organization and familiarity with the issues facing the Council have earned you the high esteem of your colleagues at the United Nations. They make us feel confident that the Council's business will be efficiently discharged this month. Permit me also to express to your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, my delegation's sincere appreciation for the capable, dignified and effective manner in which he discharged the duties of the presidency in the month of April.

89. I must also thank the membership of the Council for agreeing to Guyana's request to participate in this debate. We have sought this participation not to enter into polemics nor to engage in slander or recrimination. Rather, we wish to add our voice to the Council's consideration of Nicaragua's complaint because, among other things, Guyana is a member State of the Latin American and Caribbean region, and we are more than a little concerned about the dangerous course of events in Central America, particularly with respect to Nicaragua. We see a trend which, if pursued, would lead to greater rather than less tension and instability in Central America, with consequences for the entire Latin American and Caribbean region.

90. Also, Guyana is a small State which, like so many other small States, places faith in respect by large States for the principles which the Organization has evolved over the years for the peaceful and orderly conduct of inter-State relations. When we see those principles being set aside, we feel a duty to join those urging a recall to them.

91. My delegation listened very carefully to the statement made in this Chamber two days ago by the representative of Nicaragua [*2577th meeting*]; we lis-

tened with similar care and attention to the statement made by the representative of the United States [*2578th meeting*].

92. Nicaragua first brought a complaint to the Council in April 1982, and each subsequent complaint has provided the Council with an opportunity to assess a progressively deteriorating situation in Central America, particularly with regard to that country.

93. It is clear from the statement made by Mr. Chamorro Mora that the Nicaraguan people have a profound fear for their security, a fear produced by a number of factors which are easily identifiable and whose existence is independently attested. What Nicaragua faces is more than simply a threat of aggression. Its ports have been mined, its villages and towns have been attacked, its infrastructure has been seriously damaged and thousands of its people have been killed or maimed. Most recently, Nicaragua has become the victim of a trade embargo and other economic measures of a coercive nature. Coming after the General Assembly has called upon Governments to continue contributing to Nicaragua's processes of internal reconstruction and development, and also at a time when Nicaragua is already suffering the adverse effects of an imposed war, this trade embargo seriously aggravates the country's problems.

94. When in 1982 Nicaragua brought its complaint to the Council, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, then United States representative, said that the United States was not in the business of overthrowing Governments. Those were reassuring words, but a number of subsequent actions and statements, some quite unambiguous, have been causing concern. In this light, therefore, it is easy to understand and to feel the fear which today haunts the Nicaraguan people.

95. These actions and statements are directly contrary to and in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the principles of international law. Respect for the Charter and for these principles is our only guarantee of peaceful and stable inter-State relations. When these principles are set aside or abandoned, peace and stability are endangered. Is this not the lesson of Central America?

96. Events in Central America have given further confirmation of the wisdom and the correctness of the decision taken by the General Assembly in 1970, when by resolution 2625 (XXV) it adopted the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. That Declaration was followed, 11 years later, by the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, which set out for the first time, in clear and detailed language, the duties comprehended in the principle of non-intervention and non-interference. These duties include:

"The duty of States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any form whatsoever to violate the existing internationally recognized boundaries of another State, to disrupt the political, social or economic order of other States, to overthrow or change the political system of another State or its Government, to cause tension between or among States or to deprive peoples of their national identity and cultural heritage; ...

"The duty of a State to refrain from armed intervention, subversion, military occupation or any other form of intervention and interference, overt or covert, directed at another State or group of States, or any act of military, political or economic interference in the internal affairs of another State, including acts of reprisal involving the use of force; ...

"The duty of a State to refrain from any action or attempt in whatever form or under whatever pretext to destabilize or to undermine the stability of another State or of any of its institutions" [*See General Assembly resolution 36/103, annex*].

97. This Declaration, the fruit of years of effort in the General Assembly by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, represents a great contribution by our Movement and by the General Assembly to the effort to establish a régime of peaceful relations between States cemented by the positive bonds of mutual respect and respect for the rule of law. I venture to assert that there is no future for international relations unless they are constructed on these bases.

98. The international community long ago outlawed the use of force as a means of settling disputes. This applies, of course, to whatever differences or quarrels may exist between Nicaragua and any other State or States. Such disputes must be settled by exclusively peaceful means, with full respect for the right of the people of Nicaragua to choose their own forms of political, economic and social organization and for their right to live in peace, free from outside interference, pressure or coercion. This right was reaffirmed by the Council in its resolution 530 (1983).

99. My delegation sincerely regrets the interruption of the Manzanillo talks between the United States and Nicaragua. That forum provided for those two States an opportunity for a frank and constructive discussion of their differences in order to establish a basis for normalizing relations between them. In the absence of dialogue it is easy for misunderstandings to take root, for differences to multiply and for tensions to escalate. My delegation has taken note of Nicaragua's continuing commitment to Manzanillo, and we express the hope that this channel of communication will soon be reopened.

100. My delegation cannot help remarking that so far those who accuse Nicaragua most audibly and frequently of intimidation, destabilization and subversion

of its neighbours have not been the neighbours of Nicaragua themselves. In fact, Nicaragua has given its full and unconditional support to the Contadora process, which represents an effort by the States of the region to achieve a régime of peace and security among Central American countries based on respect for the principles of non-intervention and non-interference, self-determination and non-use of force or the threat of use of force in international relations. Nicaragua has made a practical demonstration of its commitment to the objectives of Contadora by announcing on 21 September 1984 its decision immediately to sign the Contadora Act without reservations. In so doing it has signalled its intention voluntarily to submit itself to the constraints and limitations imposed by the Contadora Act on Central American States in the larger interest of peace in the subregion.

101. Contadora represents an assertion by the States of the region of their determination and their capacity through dialogue and practical co-operation to seek and find solutions to problems existing within the region. The solutions proposed by the Contadora States have full legitimacy: they emerge from within the region itself, and they correspond to the interests and the needs of the people as determined by them. If they are allowed to work, they will work. The Contadora process enjoys significant international support. Guyana reiterates its support for that process and expresses the hope that the revised Act will very soon be formalized. We call on States to give, beyond rhetorical support, practical support for that effort. States must refrain from actions which contradict the goals and purposes of Contadora or frustrate their achievement.

102. Central America is in a process of internal change, a process that is evolving against a backdrop of particular economic and social factors. The struggles of the peoples of that subregion are for an improvement in the quality of their life and for fuller participation in the political process. Theirs are not struggles to secure the strategic advantage of any outside Power or to prove or disprove the superiority or validity of any ideological world view. It is unhelpful, therefore, to misrepresent the domestic impulses for change in the subregion and to try to cast them into a mould in which they do not belong.

103. It is to be expected that different States of the subregion will choose different developmental paths and political strategies based on their respective historical experiences, on their own perceptions of what transformations in their societies are necessary and how these can best be effected. The true test of a commitment to democracy in international relations is surely the ability to tolerate differences and to eschew insistence on ideological conformity.

104. Intolerance combined with misperceptions or misrepresentations of the nature and significance of change in Central America has led to the excesses so eloquently and condignly deplored in this forum and to much of the suffering which the people of Nicaragua continue to endure. There must be, and there is, an alternative to these policies.

105. The problems of Central America are not susceptible to military solutions, nor can solutions be imposed from outside. This has been repeated *ad nauseam* in this forum. My delegation sincerely hopes that the Council will make an effective and worthy response to the serious situation which Nicaragua has brought to its attention. We also express the hope that this debate will exert strong pressure for the abandonment of policies of force, of confrontation and of war in favour of peaceful negotiated solutions. It is time that peace were given a chance in Central America.

106. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Guatemala. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

107. Mr. FAJARDO-MALDONADO (Guatemala) *(interpretation from Spanish):* On behalf of my delegation I should like to express our pleasure and congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency. We are convinced that because of your ability and personal qualities the work of the Security Council will be fruitful. At the same time we should like to express our appreciation to the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for the shrewd and effective manner in which he conducted the work of the Council last month. I would also thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for giving my delegation this opportunity to make a statement in this important body of the United Nations.

108. Guatemala is on this occasion speaking in the Security Council as a Central American country profoundly concerned over the crisis affecting our region, a crisis that has over the past few days been aggravated by the political and economic measures taken against one of the countries of the Central American isthmus. These measures jeopardize the negotiations taking place within the Contadora Group. Having followed this debate with interest and great care, I should like, in order to contribute to the delicate deliberations proceeding within the Council, to reaffirm the position of the Government of Guatemala regarding the crisis affecting the region.

109. Central America is confronting a crisis of profound economic, political and social dimensions. Since the early 1980s, the region has been passing through a serious economic depression and the most serious political upheaval of the last 50 years. That has led to a climate of instability and confusion, which only makes it more difficult to solve the present crisis. The region has been severely castigated by alien and internal factors and by adverse forces originating in the international economy, related to trade in products, and external financial co-operation, which has been aggravated by the exaggerated insistence by certain international financial institutions of a bilateral and multilateral

character that our countries absorb a disproportionate burden of the adjustment to the new circumstances.

110. A recent study by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) found that the political and economic problems confronting the Central American countries have delayed, by at least 20 years, certain achievements in the normal functioning of the economic integration process through their common market. According to ECLAC, it is necessary to break preconceived leftist and rightist moulds, combining a greater role for the State, together with full support and incentives for the private sector, with the adoption of pragmatic and selective measures to deal with regional demand through a joint, shared approach to development.

111. This situation is recognized and described in broad terms in the report of the Bipartite National Commission for Central America, presided over by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. That report recommended the adoption of key measures to overcome these problems.

112. I have given the Council this brief economic account because my Government believes that these are the profound causes that have brought about the present situation in Central America, making our region particularly vulnerable, making it possible for new actors from outside to try to exert their influence in the area.

113. All this is also related to internal factors heightening political and social tensions in certain countries. These factors are the result of the interaction of complex phenomena which have had diverse ramifications in our economies and societies.

114. Our region is extremely vulnerable to outside influences; it needs co-operation from the international community as it endeavours to overcome the dual crisis. Such co-operation must support the efforts that Central Americans themselves are making to preserve and strengthen their common bonds and to lessen the factors which separate them. For this reason we attach special importance to the meeting that was held towards the end of September 1984 among the five foreign ministers of Central America, the foreign ministers of the Contadora Group, and the foreign ministers of the members of the European Economic Community, Spain and Portugal.

115. The foreign policy of Guatemala has been consistent with the trying times in which we are living and with the Central American identity that we share with the other countries of the region. We maintain a balanced position, which is reflected in our stability in the present circumstances. We believe that support for regional integration and the preservation of past achievements remains one of the primary objectives of our foreign policy in Central America, as is respect for multilateral and bilateral conventions on free trade and Central American integration that are in force among the fraternal countries of the region. Support for efforts to bring about regional unity will make a notable contribution to peace and development. To underestimate these integrating efforts could undeniably contribute to a widening of existing differences, leading to conflicts with unpredictable results. The more we strengthen inter-regional co-operation, the more propitious the political atmosphere will be for shared and negotiated solutions.

116. Another fundamental pillar of our foreign policy in Central America is our unconditional, continuing support for the Contadora Group. We participated from the very outset in that important diplomatic Latin American peace effort.

117. We reaffirm our conviction that the Central American crisis requires political and diplomatic solutions based on compromise formulas which reconcile the different positions and take into account the basic principles of international law. There is no single easy solution to Central America's problems, but a realistic and effective approach can be taken through a comprehensive agreement.

118. We believe that in the relatively near future the present tense situation, which might expand, can be controlled to some extent. In this context it is pertinent to stress that the Document of Objectives [*S/16041, annex*], adopted by consensus by the five Contadora Governments, clearly defines the political, security, economic and social goals to be achieved if we are to ensure permanent peace in the region.

119. Guatemala considers it very important to achieve genuine internal reconciliation in every Central American country; it is essential that the democratic system be strengthened. Political pluralism must be guaranteed and fundamental human rights must be respected.

120. The more each and every one of us, the Central American countries, appreciates the overriding need to halt the arms race, the greater the chances of a relaxation of tension and of peace. Against the backdrop of the present international economic crisis, it is absurd for Central America's scanty economic resources to be drained by the purchase of sophisticated military equipment.

121. My country respects and adheres to the purposes and principles underlying the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States, in particular the maintenance of international peace and security, respect for the sovereign equality of States, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the non-use or threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the self-determination of peoples, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the right of free navigation and trade in international waters. We

adhere to Security Council resolution 530 (1983); to General Assembly resolutions 38/10 and 39/4 on Central America; to General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), on principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; and to the resolutions adopted within the framework of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development on economic co-operation among developing countries and those which promote free international trade.

122. In conclusion, we reaffirm our unconditional support for the peace efforts made by the Contadora Group. We shall continue to co-operate in any peace initiative undertaken in the region to bring about a just and honourable settlement in Central America making possible a comprehensive solution to all the problems and differences. In order to act in conformity with General Assembly resolutions and the unanimous support of the international community for Latin America's peace efforts, the Security Council should today, more than ever, reaffirm that support in order to create a more favourable negotiating climate, enabling progress to be made in the difficult and delicate negotiations in the Contadora Group.

123. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

124. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): I am grateful to the members of the Security Council for giving me the opportunity to explain my country's position with regard to the problem under consideration.

125. Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. My delegation is confident that you will apply your great political experience and diplomatic skill in successfully guiding the work of the Council in the interest of strengthening peace and international security. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the thanks of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic to the representative of Peru, Mr. Arias Stella, for his successful activities as President of the Council in the month of April.

126. Permit me to begin my statement with a quotation from a former President of Venezuela, Carlos Andrés Pérez, now a member of the Senate of his country, who said in an article published recently:

> "For Latin Americans, at least, the lessons of Viet Nam are crystal-clear—that the United States is strongest when it acts for social justice and democratic change, that it is most effective when it acts multilaterally, and most successful when it deals with its neighbours as equals dedicated to peace, freedom and democracy. We only wish the United States could see this as clearly as we do."

Those sentences were written on the basis of the experience gained by a leading Latin American politician of United States policy towards his region in the past and at present. They express the hope of many politicians and peoples of Latin and Central America to be treated by the United States as equal partners, masters of their own destiny, who are not told by the Government of that country how to organize their societies.

127. The reply to that appeal was the further intensification of the policy of aggression against, and interference in, Central America, with the announcement of an embargo against Nicaragua by the Government of the United States.

128. Already, in connection with the brutal mining of Nicaraguan ports, an overwhelming majority of representatives here in the Security Council have called for the termination of aggressive acts against Nicaragua and for a political solution to the problems of the region, urging continuation of the peace efforts then under way. At that time, in April 1984, only one permanent member voted against a draft resolution [*S/16463*] reaffirming the right of Nicaragua and of all the countries of the region to live in peace and security, free from all foreign interference; calling for an immediate end to the mining of Nicaraguan ports, which had caused the loss of human lives as well as material damage; condemning the hampering of free navigation and commerce; and affirming the right of free navigation and commerce. Today leading circles in the United States are again trying to undermine the demands of the international community, renewed in this debate. They are trying to blackmail sovereign Nicaragua by an economic blockade and to make Nicaragua bend to their will and ambition for hegemony in the region.

129. Like the overwhelming majority of other States, the German Democratic Republic rejects those machinations and calls for an immediate end to those measures in the interest of a peaceful solution to the problems in Central America, an improvement of the international climate and the free development of international trade.

130. In particular, those who call so loudly for the liquidation of trade restrictions should underline their declarations by relevant deeds.

131. As the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora, and representatives of other States have convincingly proved in this debate, the latest acts against Nicaragua have to be seen against the background of the general policy, continuing over years and worsening in that time, intended to overthrow the legitimately elected Government of a free, independent country. The world must be vigilant and reject the escalation of the military, political and economic undermining of sovereign Nicaragua; it must contribute to bringing back to their senses those who regard the activities carried out so far as only a prelude to more dangerous adventures.

132. Such an approach to the problems of Central America holds serious dangers to peace. The German Democratic Republic resolutely condemns any form of armed aggression and the exertion of political pressure against Nicaragua, as well as threats against Cuba and growing attacks on more Central American countries. The latest total trade and economic blockade imposed by the United States against Nicaragua is an expression of the continued policy of threat and extortion, and is a gross violation of all the fundamental principles of international law. Thus, those forces are acting contrary to the will of the majority of Member States, which at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly called for an end to blockades and economic embargoes against developing countries.

133. The embargo is another link in the chain of measures aimed at overthrowing the legitimately elected President and Government of a sovereign State. But, typically, United States politicians prevent the imposition of effective sanctions against the fascist *apartheid* régime in South Africa, as demanded by an overwhelming majority of States.

134. The German Democratic Republic demands the immediate and complete cessation of interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Central America and the Caribbean and of the aggressive actions against Nicaragua. In the interest of a just political settlement in Central America, the Security Council should contribute to mobilizing international efforts.

135. We support the demand of the non-aligned countries for a peaceful solution to the problems of the region, as contained in the communiqué adopted by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on 7 May 1985 [*S/17163, annex*].

136. The head of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, declared on the occasion of the recent visit of the President of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, to my country that we commended the devoted struggle of the Nicaraguan people for their country's national and democratic reconstruction, a struggle which had been followed in the German Democratic Republic with admiration and sympathy. Developments in Nicaragua, he said, were proof of the ability of a people to take its fate into its own hands, to set up its chosen social order and resolutely to fight ignorance and misery. He expressed full support for the efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Central American conflict, and he welcomed the activities of the Contadora States to that end. He called for a resumption of the talks in Manzanillo between the United States and Nicaragua, talks suspended by the United States. Mr. Honecker assured President Ortega of the firm friendship and active solidarity of the German Democratic Republic in Nicaragua's struggle to continue its national democratic construction.

137. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Argentina. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

138. Mr. MUÑIZ (Argentina) ***(interpretation from Spanish):*** **I should like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the honourable office of President of the Security Council for the month of May and to wish you every success in carrying out your difficult functions. I want also to express my gratitude to the representative of Peru, Mr. Arias Stella, for the skilful manner in which he presided over the Security Council last month. In addition, Sir, I wish to thank you for granting me the opportunity to address this Council.**

139. My Government has been following with profound concern the developments in Central America, and it is of the view that Argentina, as a member of the Latin American community, has a responsibility in the search for solutions to the conflict besetting its sister peoples. There is no doubt that the complexity of the problems we face and the gravity of the possible consequences affect the entire international community. But we are convinced that it is first and foremost the countries of the region which must find the proper means for a solution. In this connection, the contribution the Council could make to regional efforts is of fundamental importance.

140. We believe this to be the proper moment to reiterate our conviction that the only genuine alternatives for achieving peace in Central America are the process of political negotiations initiated two years ago by the members of the Contadora Group and the resumption of the dialogue begun at the Manzanillo meetings. Argentina has most strongly pledged its support to the efforts of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, and it feels that those efforts should be continued and encouraged. Therefore we cannot fail to express our dismay at any unilateral measure which departs from the spirit behind the Latin American Contadora effort. The strength and importance of Contadora come not only from its Latin American nature, but result also from its full adherence to the principles of international and inter-American law deeply engrained in all our peoples.

141. I reiterate again that it is essential to persist on the path of dialogue in order to find, in that way and with due guarantees, peaceful and lasting solutions.

142. By means of joint action by the Latin American countries it is possible, moreover, to prevent the Central American conflict from becoming part of a much broader confrontation and our region from having to bear the consequences of East-West confrontation.

143. Argentina's traditional position of respect for the principles of inter-American international law—to whose formulation and practice we have made a decisive contribution—is well known. There could be no better time, therefore, to recall the words of the distinguished Argentine statesman and former Minister for Foreign Relations, Honorio Pueyrredón, who said that

> "The sovereignty of States is embodied in absolute rights, in full internal autonomy and in complete

external independence. For strong nations, these rights are guaranteed by their strength and for weak ones by respect on the part of the strong. If these rights are not absolute in their formulation and implementation, international legal harmony cannot exist.

> "These principles, which have been enshrined as one conquest of civilization, are particularly important in America for the happy coexistence of the peoples that make it up. The Argentine Republic has practised these tenets throughout its history."

144. The principles of non-intervention and self-determination are part and parcel of the history of Latin America, whose countries were the very ones to spare no effort in consolidating them. The practice of those principles is a constant in my country's foreign policy. On many occasions, especially in his address to the General Assembly, at the 5th meeting of its thirty-ninth session, President Alfonsin has maintained that they constitute the foundation of civilized coexistence.

145. It is basic to any negotiating process that the parties refrain from adopting measures which could increase the difficulty of finding solutions. In recent months my Government has noted with concern that this is not the case in Central America. There are many factors which have contributed to the deterioration of the situation and impede the progress of diplomatic efforts.

146. Today we are considering in the Council a new circumstance which is causing the deterioration of the climate of confidence necessary to make progress along the path to the achievement of lasting agreements. We believe that the imposition of economic sanctions against the Government of Nicaragua is not only impeding a speedy solution of the conflict but can also lead to a hardening of positions and, what is even more serious, to a polarization of positions.

147. Argentina has maintained a clear position on the imposition of economic measures against a State. My country was affected by coercive measures of this kind not very long ago, at the time of the conflict over the Malvinas Islands, when we received the unanimous support and solidarity of the Latin American countries. Such measures are in keeping neither with the provisions of international law nor with the development of friendly relations among States; they diminish the possibilities for achieving solutions and, by and large, lead to results opposite to those originally sought. In the context of the hemisphere, they contravene the provisions of article 19 of the charter of the Organization of American States. In the context of the United Nations, furthermore, they have been clearly rejected in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, found in General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX), and in many other Assembly resolutions, particularly in resolutions 38/197 and 39/210.

148. I shall conclude this brief statement by reading out the declaration issued by my country's Ministry of Foreign Relations and Worship on the third of this month; it completely summarizes the arguments that I have just set forth. The communiqué states:

> "The Argentine Government regrets the developments in the Central American crisis and expresses its profound concern at the enactment of economic measures by the Government of the United States.
>
> "Similarly, it deplores all acts by any of the parties involved which further make the possibility of a peaceful and final political solution for the region more remote. Such a solution can be found only on the basis of respect for the principles of inter-American international law and by removing this crisis from the East-West conflict.
>
> "The Contadora Group, today more than ever, needs the real support of the countries of the world; more emphatically, it needs the political will of the American continent and encouragement in its efforts which, we believe, can be helped by resumption of the Manzanillo dialogue designed to bring peace to Latin America."

149. THE PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

150. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam): Allow me, first of all, to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I should like also to congratulate the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for his skilful conduct of the Council's work during the month of April. I thank all the members of the Council for giving us the opportunity to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda.

151. The aggravated tension in Central America, particularly in Nicaragua, as a result of the hostile acts by the United States has become a constant concern of the international community. In the last few weeks we have witnessed new steps of escalation in the United States policy of interventionist and continued acts or threat of aggression against Nicaragua.

152. After the Reagan Administration had publicly professed its intention to overthrow the Sandinist Government of Nicaragua, it took a further dangerous step by imposing a total embargo against that country. This new act is obviously in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation signed by the two countries.

153. During the last three meetings the representative of Nicaragua and many other representatives provided us with a vivid account and exposed specific illegal aspects of United States acts against the Nicaraguan

people's independence, sovereignty and freedom to establish a new social system.

154. In spite of the United States slanderous allegation that Nicaragua is a "satellite of the Soviet Union"—which is aimed at justifying new acts by the United States—no one is taken in. The international community knows too well who is the trouble-maker in the region and has voiced its indignation and opposition to the so-called Reagan peace plan for Central America and to hostile United States acts.

155. Many Central and Latin American countries which must constantly face the economic pressure and threat by their northern neighbour have voiced their condemnation. Many allies of the United States have criticized the attitude adopted by it and have made clear that they will not follow the United States manoeuvre. People of conscience—amongst them many politicians and parliamentarians in Western Europe and the United States—have marched in protest against United States acts and threat of aggression against Nicaragua. The shouts of "US hands off Nicaragua!" have echoed through many cities in Europe and even in the United States. The message is perfectly clear: people do not want to see another inhuman, immoral and illegal war in Central America.

156. The latest moves by the United States help bring back memories of what it did in many parts of the world. I am not going to cite the cases of the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Guatemala, Grenada, Lebanon, and so on. I will just mention the particular case of Viet Nam since, in the escalation of coercive measures and force by the United States, a similarity can be found in these two cases—that is, Viet Nam and Nicaragua. We Vietnamese people were once slandered as an "instrument of the Soviet Union and of China", and therefore we are not at all surprised by the United States "dirty old trick" towards Nicaragua. We were subjected to various measures and steps in an escalation that led to the longest, biggest and bloodiest war of aggression by the United States, which ended only after two long decades—21 years, to be exact. What happened to Viet Nam is now likely to happen to Nicaragua and to other countries as well, for a war of aggression is what escalation will lead to.

157. The danger of such a war is real, and Nicaragua is fully justified in being on the alert in the face of United States hostile acts. As the victim of United States criminal acts in a war having many far-reaching consequences that will take us years to overcome, we consider it our responsibility to give solid testimony before the Council: the acts of the United States not only threaten the independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua but also endanger the peace, security and stability of the region and of the world at large. They are absolutely contrary to the legitimate interests of the peoples of Nicaragua and the United States and of all the peoples of the region.

158. We strongly denounce and condemn the United States acts and threats of aggression against Nicaragua, and we demand that the United States put an immediate end to its dangerous and hostile acts against Nicaragua. We urge the Council to take effective measures to compel this permanent member to do so. We call upon the international community fully to support the Nicaraguan people at this critical time.

159. We commend the Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for the Bureau's prompt response to Nicaragua's appeal. We fully support the communiqué [*S/17163, annex*] the Bureau adopted by consensus at its last meeting, which was presented by the representative of India on its behalf. We also support the draft resolution before the Council [*S/17172*]. We believe that its adoption is the least the Council can do right now in support of Nicaragua—a small, non-aligned country and a full Member of the Organization.

160. The people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam admire the Nicaraguan people and Government, which are now fighting for their survival as an independent and sovereign State. Encouraged by the truth of our time—that is, that a small nation, with the support and assistance of friendly countries, can firmly defend its country against an enemy many times bigger and stronger—the people of Nicaragua will certainly win final victory in their struggle for national independence and freedom. We welcome the good will of the Nicaraguan Government in the search for a peaceful solution to the conflict. We have repeatedly voiced our support for the just cause of our brothers and sisters in Nicaragua. The successful recent visit to Nicaragua by the Chairman of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is testimony to that statement. We reaffirm our support of the position of the Government of Nicaragua that the bilateral talks in Manzanillo between Nicaragua and the United States should be resumed without delay and that the efforts of the Contadora Group be given full support.

161. We are now living in the 1980s—the latter part of the twentieth century—when no country, no matter how big and strong it may be, can dictate the course for other countries to follow. The United States should learn its lessons and face reality. Otherwise it can only drag itself into failure and defeat. A second "Viet Nam war" would not be a good thing for the United States. That is the verdict of history.

162. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

163. Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: Mr. President, I should like to begin by thanking you and the other members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to speak in the

Security Council. We trust that you will preside over the Council's proceedings with your well-known competence and wisdom. We should like also to express our delegation's appreciation of the excellent manner in which the representative of Peru, Mr. Arias Stella, guided this Council last month.

164. The Council is meeting again today to consider the complaint of the Nicaraguan Government regarding the danger posed by the United States threat against Nicaragua. This situation was described in a very well-balanced manner by the representative of Nicaragua the day before yesterday in his statement.

165. The recent imposition, with no legal foundation, of a trade embargo and coercive economic measures by the Government of the United States of America against the people and Government of Nicaragua constitutes a flagrant violation of Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolutions 38/10 and 39/4. The imposition of the economic measures and the unlawful blockade also flagrantly violates the Charter of the United Nations and the principles and norms of international law. It is contrary to all international principles and traditions, particularly those concerning the freedom of States to choose their economic, political and social systems. It is contrary to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, a principle contained in the Charter. It is contrary to the efforts of the Contadora Group to bring about a negotiated political solution to the dangerous problem facing the Central American region.

166. The Syrian Arab Republic, in keeping with its total solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua and in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the decisions of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, must condemn the complete trade embargo imposed by the United States. We also condemn the other measures of economic pressure adopted recently against Nicaragua. We believe that, in addition to the military operations, this is part of an imperialist, colonialist manoeuvre designed to destabilize the Government of Nicaragua and to overthrow it. The Syrian Arab Republic believes that these acts of provocation increase tensions in the Central American region and constitute a threat to peace and security there.

167. The Syrian Arab Republic fully supports the efforts of the Contadora Group to find a political solution in the region and affirms its full solidarity with Nicaragua in its attempts to achieve a political solution.

168. The Government of the Syrian Arab Republic calls for an immediate end to all threats, attacks, acts of aggression and coercive economic measures against the people and Government of Nicaragua. We call on the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities under the terms of the Charter, to condemn this economic aggression and to support the struggling people and Government of Nicaragua.

169. Syria is one of the Arab countries suffering from the attempts to achieve imperialist domination and colonial hegemony, just as are Nicaragua and other countries in Latin America. On that basis we feel we are in the same trench with other non-aligned States, struggling against efforts to achieve hegemony and domination over peoples.

170. We listened to the representative of the United States yesterday, and it is ironic that his Government, while condemning decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on economic measures against the racist régimes of South Africa and Israel, tries to fabricate feeble pretexts and arguments in favour of imposing an embargo against any country which is struggling to achieve independence and self-determination. It is as though the Middle East, Latin America and southern Africa are its exclusive domain, as though it can determine their affairs the way it likes, with no regard for the will of their peoples. The complaint before the Council today clearly shows the flagrant contradiction in the United States positions.

171. We feel that these contradictory positions are not in keeping with the international obligations entered into by the United States, as a super-Power and a permanent member of the Security Council. Therefore we call upon the Government of the United States to fulfil its obligations under the Charter and its other bilateral and multilateral obligations, and to resume the bilateral talks with the Government of Nicaragua with a view to reaching agreements based on mutual respect and the right to self-determination.

172. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic affirms its full solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua and calls for an immediate end to all threats, attacks, acts of aggression and coercive economic measures, including the trade embargo, against the people of Nicaragua and its national democratically elected Government. We express our hope that the Council will shoulder its major responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in order to put an end to this dangerous state of affairs, which constitutes a threat to the peace and security of the region.

173. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Honduras. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

174. Mr. HERRERA CÁCERES (Honduras) *(interpretation from Spanish):* First of all, Sir, let me say how pleased we are to see you presiding over the meetings of the Council this month. We have had occasion, since 1973, to work with you in various international meetings and conferences, and we have seen for ourselves your equanimity and high diplomatic skill, which guarantee success in your task. We also wish to extend our gratitude to the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for the wise manner in which he performed the duties of President in April. We thank the Council for

having invited us to participate without the right to vote in the discussions on the item on its agenda.

175. So far the Contadora negotiating process has had a positive balance sheet. At the latest plenipotentiary meeting, held on 11 and 12 April, new progress was made, with agreement to the establishment of mechanisms for verification and control and the essential bases of the required procedures connected with political affairs and refugees, security matters and economic and social matters.

176. Honduras continues to take a serious and resolute part in the Contadora negotiating process, which is intended to continue next week, from 14 to 17 May. In this context, the Foreign Ministers of El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras met on 7 May in San Salvador to prepare for their participation in the next Contadora meeting. As a result of their talks they issued the Declaration of San Salvador, an excerpt from which has been distributed in document S/17174.

177. Moreover, the Government of Honduras is at present studying the trade embargo decreed by the United States against Nicaragua, from the point of view of its implications for Central American economic relations. This subject will also be dealt with at a meeting of the Central American Monetary Council, whose members are the five Central American Governments, to be convened on 17 May at San José de Costa Rica. After that, there will be a joint meeting of the ministers for trade and the presidents of the central banks of all the Central American States.

178. With all that going on, it had not been our intention to take part in what we had thought was going to be a debate and the consideration of a draft resolution confined to the deterioration of the bilateral relations between the United States and Nicaragua. Through such an attitude we sought to reflect our desire to concentrate on the essential aspects involved in finding a solution to the Central American crisis and thereby avoid associating ourselves in the reopening of discussions—all too familiar to the Council and the General Assembly—on the positions of each of the Central American States on this matter.

179. However, despite all expectations, we were not able to adhere to our intentions—and we informed you of this, Mr. President, when you were good enough to hold some consultations with the countries concerned—because, on the one hand, the objective stated as the basis for the convening of the Council has been presented with such a broad scope that it gives rise to confusion. What Nicaragua is in fact seeking as a pronouncement by the Council on its bilateral relations with the United States—and this is reflected in paragraph 1 of its draft resolution [*S/17172*]—is not in conformity with the broad objective of its request for the convening of the Council "for the purpose of considering the extremely serious situation which the Central American region is facing at the present time" [*see S/17156*]. In order to fill in this omission, Nicaragua, in the rest of its draft resolution, refers primarily to itself, and then to "the rest of the States of the region".

180. But the Nicaraguan Government is ill-placed to act as a spokesman in an objective evaluation of the situation in Central America. After all, it is a party to the conflict and to a very large extent is responsible for it.

181. On the other hand, the turn which this debate has taken in regard to the handling of the agenda item before us makes it essential to ensure that the treatment of a specific aspect relating to Central American relations does not lead to confusion and a misleading situation concerning the determination that has been made of the causes of the Central American crisis and the prospects for a comprehensive solution in keeping with those causes, and therefore to a disruption of the progress made in the Contadora negotiating process.

182. Therefore, with regard to the item on the agenda pertaining to the extremely grave situation in Central America, it is relevant for this debate to encompass all the elements that have led to and perpetuated that grave situation. With that in mind, one cannot disregard the serious events directed against other countries of the Central American region. We shall give just three recent examples that show the kind of thing that is being done against my country.

183. First, last week six Nicaraguan members of the Sandinist Front who were working for the Nicaraguan army were captured in Honduras. They confessed that their mission had been—in the case of some of them, since 1979—to trans-ship weapons and hide them in various parts of Honduran territory. The purpose was to serve as a liaison group in the preparation of the infrastructure to be used by Honduran groups that continue to train in Nicaraguan subversive schools and in countries outside the region, with the aim of disrupting the stability of Honduras. It should be noted that when this same item on the situation in Central America was considered in the General Assembly on 8 November 1983, we drew attention to similar events when we said:

> "It should be recalled that on 19 July, the day Nicaraguans were celebrating the anniversary of their revolution, the Nicaraguan Government had a hand in the crossing from its territory into Honduras of the first one hundred armed subversives, who were duly brought under control, thanks to the support of the people of the countryside. However, the information obtained from the subversives who were captured or who deserted reveals that about 2,000 men are undergoing military training to enter Honduras from Nicaragua as subversives."[1]

184. Secondly, since 4 May this year, opposite an eastern sector of Honduras bordering on Nicaragua there has been a movement of more than 10,000 Sandinist soldiers, backed up by an incredible force of

artillery, including the horrendous instruments of indiscriminate killing known as "Stalin's organs", with colossal destructive power. Those troops have committed territorial violations against Honduras and have been intensely bombing, daily, the sector of Honduran territory bordering on Nicaragua. This has had a particularly adverse effect on the Honduran farm population in seven villages. More than 5,000 persons have been forced to leave their homes and move inland, and more than one hundred Nicaraguans have sought refuge in our territory for the same reasons. This new flow of refugees has been added to the more than 25,000 Nicaraguan refugees now receiving humanitarian protection in our country. The Honduran army has just moved certain military units towards this focal point of tension engendered by the Nicaraguan Government. The National Security Council announced yesterday its intention to remain constantly in session in order to deal with this problem of the tense situation in this border area.

185. Thirdly, on 2 April this year there was another breach of the territorial sovereignty of Honduras, with the capture of a convoy of 17 Sandinist soldiers and seven trucks that had penetrated seven kilometres into Honduran territory. The Government of Nicaragua explained that "a regrettable misunderstanding has occurred: these men unintentionally crossed the border". The Government of Honduras returned these soldiers and trucks to the Nicaraguan Government on Saturday, 27 April. This is a case worthy of analysis, if we compare this new gesture of good will by the Honduras Government with the attitude of the Nicaraguan army, which, on 8 May last year, in a despicable act, shot down without any warning an unarmed Honduran helicopter that had accidentally strayed into Nicaraguan airspace because of the weather. This attack caused the death of eight Hondurans, most of them civilians, who had a strictly administrative task in Honduran territory.

186. By way of introduction we shall confine ourselves to these three examples of actions at variance with the charter of the Organization of American States, the Charter of the United Nations and the peaceful objectives of the Contadora process. Knowledge of these cases may be helpful to those who are concerned with the need to follow developments and arrive at a serious assessment of the grave situation now prevailing in Central America.

187. In his statement on 8 May [*2577th meeting*], the representative of Nicaragua specifically referred to certain activities being carried out in Honduran territory. The representative of the Soviet Union asserted [*2578th meeting*] that, since Nicaragua had been accused of intervening in the affairs of its neighbours, the question should be asked why such neighbours had been silent in the Council.

188. In view of the foregoing reasons, Honduras found itself compelled to take part in this debate, which directly affects its interests and those of other Central American countries, since an attempt was made to give a very partial and tendentious view of the situation now prevailing in Central America, of those who bear the responsibility for this situation and those who are the victims and of its origins and of the consequence, and, above *all*, to downplay the primary responsibility and the sovereign right of the five Central American States to resolve the situation themselves.

189. It has to be said that we Hondurans regret, as a matter of principle, that any Central American country should find its traditional foreign trade relations disrupted, for that in turn has a disrupting effect on Central American relations generally. Our feelings are much stronger, however, and more profound and far-reaching when it comes to the causes of these disruptions and other effects which ought to have been avoided in Central America.

190. Causes and effects are inseparable elements in determining a proper treatment for a specific problem. It is not rational or sound judgement to analyse only the effects without attending to the causes. On the contrary, an analysis of the causes is essential if one really wants to understand why the dignity of the Central Americans has been wounded and why the well-being of our populations has been jeopardized and our region's identity compromised.

191. All this deserves an effort at understanding, because it appears that the reality in Central America is not known to countries outside the area. That is why we must clearly state that it is not only the Nicaraguan population but the entire Central American population, and particularly the poorer part of that population, that is the victim of the Central American crisis.

192. One of the effects which has a bearing on this crisis, and which is now part of this debate, has to do with the interruption by the United States of its trade relations with Nicaragua. However, the result of the isolated analysis of this effect could not possibly express the full complexity of the conflict in Central America. Therefore any resolution that may be adopted by the Council on the unilateral measures taken by the United States regarding the roots of the grave situation in Central America will have no value as a precedent in support of a country of the region that publicly refuses to admit its own responsibility for the crisis.

193. Central America is an entity with roots that go deep into history, geography and economy. Consequently, whatever has an impact on each or several of its parts has an effect on the entire region, particularly when there are fundamental divergencies in relations between those States.

194. For Honduras the crisis has its basic Central American origin in economic backwardness, in social marginalization and lack of political, democratic and pluralistic development. In order to overcome these obstacles, the action of each Central American country

is justified if it is carried out in the search for the collective well-being of the population as a whole and within the proper sphere of action of the individual country. If internal sovereign actions were kept within these limits, we would not now have direct repercussions and conflict which have caused the current irregularities between the States of the region.

195. Unfortunately the Nicaraguan Government has so far not stayed within the boundaries of the legitimate exercise of its sovereign powers, since it has created wrenching divisions within its own population and has also disregarded the substance of resolutions, principles and norms of the inter-American system and of the United Nations. These governmental actions have come to have an impact on the political, economic, cultural and security aspects of other Central American countries, particularly Honduras, which has suffered acutely from these harmful repercussions.

196. This crisis overflowed the Central American framework with the intrusion of the East-West conflict provoked by the alignment of the Government of Nicaragua, and particularly because of the immoderate arms buildup of that Government as a result of that alignment and the consequent policy of ideological expansionism, which brought in their train insecurity and imbalance in the region.

197. These causes directly produced the effects that can be seen in the form of massive flows of refugees to neighbouring countries, support for subversive movements against those countries, terrorism in their territories, the flight of Central American capital, the significant decline of foreign investment, deterioration of intraregional trade and the diversion of large resources that should have been devoted to development and which instead are being devoted to the spectacular and massive arms buildup of the Nicaraguan Government and the minimum defence needs of its neighbours.

198. As an effect, and in antithesis of this, there also emerged groups of Nicaraguan insurgents acting against the Government of Nicaragua and a tense situation now prevailing in the Central American region.

199. As the Declaration of San Salvador [*see S/17174, annex*] says, there must be, in all countries where profound divisions in society have arisen, actions taken within the established legal order aimed at achieving national reconciliation. Sovereignty and self-determination find their source in the population as a whole, from which there emanates the power that any genuinely democratic, pluralistic Government exercises in representing the people. That is why the Government of Honduras has declared that it officially endorses any measure which can contribute to the democratization of Nicaragua or any other country through processes of internal reconciliation.

200. Honduras has approximately 17,200 persons under arms. None the less, it has granted refuge to a number of nationals of Central American countries that is more than three times the total manpower of the Honduran armed forces, which have to fulfil their obligations to defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic, maintain the peace, public order, constitutional rule, the principles of free suffrage and the proper rotation of the exercise of the presidency of the Republic. Those duties imply obligations to be fulfilled throughout the territory and the need to keep a watch on our borders with Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, as well as the borders and marine resources in the corresponding areas bordering on more than six States, including the ones I have just mentioned.

201. Honduras, as we have frequently said, has not wished to build up those forces quantitatively, but has chosen to improve them qualitatively. This accounts for the joint military exercises with the United States, based on our public agreement on military co-operation in 1954, which is being renegotiated at the moment in order, among other things, to regulate more precisely such military activities. We have already sufficiently explained the nature of those manoeuvres in the Council and in the General Assembly, where we have also stated that there are no foreign bases in Honduras and that the presence of Americans on our soil is not of a permanent nature. The day before yesterday the representative of Nicaragua referred to those manoeuvres and criticized the United States presence, building it up very considerably by claiming that there was a permanent presence of approximately 2,000 United States military personnel.

202. This figure, even though it is incorrect, surely cannot be compared with the figure of no less than 8,000 foreign military and security advisers in Nicaragua. Our joint military exercises, which are publicly announced and of which notification is given, are surely on a smaller scale than those carried out by the Nicaraguan armed forces, which are in a state of constant mobilization, with the guidance and training of the incredible number of foreign military and security advisers, diverse arsenals of weapons and military hardware and the logistics which make possible the permanent imposition of strict police control and a state of emergency throughout the territory.

203. We believe firmly that the solution of Central America's problems is a matter for Central Americans themselves to decide. In the Declaration of San Salvador, the foreign ministers of Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras and the Deputy Foreign Minister of Guatemala considered that:

> "a fundamental requirement for the achievement of peace in Central America is the signing of multilateral international instruments that will lay down the rules for coexistence between the States of the area, on the basis that the sovereign power to formulate the alternatives for a solution rests with the Central American countries, with the valuable assistance of the Contadora Group."

This statement meets the wishes of virtually all Central Americans. However, the obvious military presence in Central America of the United States and of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Libya and other countries aligned with them cannot be disregarded.

204. The United States has said that it supports the Contadora negotiating process, that its bilateral negotiations should be seen only as support for the negotiations within the Contadora framework and the internal dialogue in Nicaragua, and that none of its actions can replace those efforts to achieve a comprehensive, verifiable agreement between all the Central American States. This was stated in the letter from President Reagan to Senator Dole on 24 May. The Soviet Union has given its support verbally to this machinery for negotiation. Cuba has stated, in a letter from its representative to the Secretary-General dated 5 March 1985 [*A/39/876*], that it "will continue to support firmly the effort of the Contadora Group to reach a just agreement that satisfies all the countries of Central America", and that the other countries which also supply arms, military and security advisers and technical experts to the Nicaraguan Government have theoretically affirmed the same.

205. This leads us to the conclusion that the Contadora framework is the most suitable framework within which we Central Americans may be able to find a Central American solution to our conflict at an early date. In the two years for which Contadora has been at work it has been possible to identify the causes of the Central American crisis and to advocate global and regional solutions to eradicate these causes and control their effects.

206. Therefore, we urge the Nicaraguan Government to attend the Contadora meetings scheduled for 14 to 17 May with the political will to negotiate so as to achieve peace, security and co-operation in Central America. Here is an opportunity to resolve the Central American crisis in a reasonably short time with due respect for the personality of the constituent elements of each Central American State and for the security of each of those States. That is why Honduras reiterates its consistent readiness to seek a peaceful, negotiated solution and to maintain the political will to encourage the quest for such solutions.

207. In an annex to a note by the Secretary-General dated 13 October 1983, issued as document S/16041, we have the Document of Objectives adopted and ratified by the five Central American States. The content of that Document provides the comprehensive basis for reaching an understanding on the conclusion of an agreement on peace and co-operation in Central America. Therefore, the adoption by any Central American Government of a position which selfishly seeks certain objectives only while excluding all the others serves to undermine the foundations of negotiation and suggests that it really wants to seek outside support in order to achieve hegemony or military superiority or to impose interests contrary to the collective understanding which might lead to a peaceful negotiated settlement.

208. We are now at a stage where, far from yet again opening the veins of Central America in order to aggravate the pain of its wounds, which we are trying to heal, all the Governments of Central America should unite their will and their action even more determinedly in order to make progress in this process of negotiation and move towards a solution which will promote the well-being and development of Central America.

209. We must struggle for the affirmation of the identity of Central America and for the well-being of our peoples. That is why we must completely remove expansionist ambitions, arms races and foreign presences which have introduced the East-West conflict as a kind of parasite to drain the sap of the tree of Central American coexistence and harmony. Removing them will be possible only if we avoid perverting the true Contadora spirit, which is reflected in the need to set out, in legally binding and fully verifiable articles, all the 21 objectives whose attainment is the goal of the negotiation of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America.

210. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

211. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): Mr. President, I congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I am confident that under the leadership of such a capable and skilful President the Council's work will come to a happy and honourable conclusion. I also extend my special thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, representative of Peru, for the masterly way in which he administered the affairs of the Council during the month of April.

212. This series of meetings of the Security Council is convened at Nicaragua's request in order to consider the extremely serious situation which is threatening peace and stability in the Central American region.

213. The background of the United States intervention in the region is well known to everybody. The role of the CIA in the preservation of certain surrogate régimes, in toppling certain democratically elected Governments and returning to power, in their stead, tyrant military puppets and in overt and covert intervention in the affairs of other peoples, particularly in this region of Central America, which the United States has declared its own backyard, is too obvious to need any further exposition. It is as if from the viewpoint of the United States Administration the principle of self-determination has no validity or applicability in its backyard.

214. The Central American region is destined to remain in the neighbourhood of the United States. The people of the region cannot change the geographical location of their countries. They are bound to be in the so-called backyard of the United States; it is not their own free choice. But why should adjacency to the United States be viewed as a natural calamity? It is not a very honourable situation for the United States Administration if the people in its backyard feel unfortunate simply because geographical conditions have forced upon them presence in the neighbourhood of the United States. It is a cause for indignation and dishonour if neighbours of a great nation like the United States are bound to view being in its neighbourhood as a sort of predicament.

215. The United States Administration, morally speaking, has a very serious obligation not only towards the revolutionary people of Nicaragua but also towards the good people of the United States, whose honour and reputation are being so lavishly plundered by their short-sighted Administration.

216. The fact that the principles of sovereignty and self-determination are not violated by the United States in regard to certain countries thousands of miles from it does not mean that the United States Administration has any respect for those principles. Sincere respect for them can be demonstrated only if the United States refrains from violating them in spite of its physical ability to do so and despite political pretexts for such violations. In this matter the United States Administration has a very poor record indeed.

217. Another point to be mentioned is the United States anti-Communist obsession, which is often over-emphasized tendentiously and in a very well-calculated manner. United States officials know all too well that communism is an ideology which is pervasive under certain socio-economic conditions, when there is no better solution available to a people. It is not a front; it is not an army; it is an ideology, and therefore it cannot be fought against by CIA conspiracies, military operations or covert insurgency programmes backed by $14 million or $20 million. It is an ideology, and its antidote, or its counter, is only another ideology. If the superior ideology is presented to the oppressed masses, they automatically accept it; otherwise, they accept the communist ideology, as they think it is the only theoretical instrument which can help them to explain, understand and, hopefully, solve their socio-economic problems. If the United States has then decided to bar the spread of communist ideas by its CIA agents or sanctions here and there, it is very wrong. It is doubtful that this fact is not yet appreciated by United States officials. Not only do they know it, but they also know that communism is not really a serious threat to the United States affluent society, which is prepared to try everything—even nihilism—but not communism.

218. The fact is that the United States Administration over-emphasizes the danger of the spread of communism in order to deceive the American public and then to justify its interventionist policies in the region. United States officials always refer to Nicaragua as a threat to the United States or to United States interests.

219. Compared with the United States, Nicaragua is such a tiny country that it just cannot constitute a threat to a country that has "Star Wars" ambitions. Its population, as we have often said, is about 2.5 million, whereas the registered alcoholics in the United States alone total 10 million. The threat from Nicaragua is nothing but a delusion which the United States propaganda machine is inculcating into the minds of its own people in order to justify both its colossal military budgets and its interventionist foreign policy. Fortunately, the good people of the United States are not so naïve as to support such demagogic propaganda. The recent votes in the United States Congress indicate that they understand both Nicaragua and the games their own Administration is playing with them in the case of Nicaragua. Not only did Congress not give the President the $20 million he originally needed for terrorist attacks against Nicaragua; they did not even give him the $14 million which was to be spent in the guise of non-military assistance to the Somoza elements.

220. It was said yesterday in this Chamber that "the Sandinist Front and Somoza are the same thing". Without a doubt, such demagogic street-slogans have no place in this Chamber. At least the Somoza elements do not agree with such vapid slogans.

221. The United States yesterday charged Nicaragua with interference in its domestic affairs when the latter country commented on the fair and commendable position of Congress towards the $14 million appropriations bill. Yet it sees nothing wrong with the official declaration made by high-ranking United States authorities regarding the continued United States efforts to topple the Sandinist régime in Nicaragua. It seems that speculation in dissidents and counter-revolutionary fugitives is a well-known policy of the United States Administration, but such policies are not usually considered by that Administration as intervention in the affairs of other sovereign States.

222. We think that United States foreign policy is inconsistent, haphazard and absolutely devoid of any moral principle. They just plan it and implement it simply because they have the physical ability to do so. They impose sanctions against Nicaragua but violate the internationally recognized sanctions against South Africa. They boldly and unjustifiably obstruct the recommended sanctions against the Zionist base occupying Palestine. In spite of all that, the United States Administration expects to enjoy international respect and high status.

223. If there were any wisdom at all in the United States Administration, then United States officials

should have heard the message sent when 30 members of the Portuguese Parliament left their seats vacant. It was not enough to get around this with some buffoonish joke. The reaction of the European Parliament also had a message; the demonstrations in Madrid had a message; and surely the long list of speakers who wished to make brief statements here in support of Nicaragua has a message as well. Instead of trying in a very reactionary manner to improvise defensive answers to all these messages, the United States should exhibit self-confidence and respond to them positively and constructively.

224. The local differences between Nicaragua and its neighbours should be resolved through the good offices of the Contadora Group, which has the confidence of all the parties concerned. The United States Administration should, therefore, allow that Group to perform its job without coercion or intervention.

225. The United States Administration should avoid all abrasive and acrimonious policies towards the revolutionary people of Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan revolution is a point of pride for the people of the western hemisphere. No one can deny the pathos of that revolution. When the young Commander Ortega, the symbol of the Nicaraguan revolution, arrives in any Central American or other Latin American State, States I have personally visited, the masses give him such a warm, sincere and exalting welcome that it is as if each person in the procession wished to carry the champion, Commander Ortega, in his heart in order to protect him and the Nicaraguan revolution from the gigantic threat of the United States.

226. The sincere emotional language of those masses who run, often barefoot, from one corner of the square to the other in order to see Commander Ortega has a message too. If the United States wishes those barefoot masses of Central America to have a friendly attitude towards it, then it must respect their regional champions, to whom millions look as a model for liberation and emancipation. The issue, therefore, is slightly larger than a so-called debate in Security Council meetings. It is about the manner in which the United States Administration confronts a revolution which may be small in terms of the population involved, but which is very great in terms of dimensions, impact and pathos. It is a revolution of a people and has its own unique revolutionary magnanimity, especially in the eyes of millions who wish to identify themselves with the Nicaraguan revolution rather than with United States tributary and surrogate régimes in the region.

227. You must show respect to that revolution if you wish to be respected. The remnants of the Somoza régime are not going to buy anything for the American people, no matter how much "American democracy" is wasted on them. It is in the interest of the peoples of the region, including the United States people, for the United States Administration to come down to earth and recognize the genuine Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua and the legitimately and democratically elected Sandinist régime in that country.

228. In one of yesterday's speeches I heard an improper comment regarding Nicaragua's economic difficulties and the devaluation of its currency. My question is: who is to be blamed for those economic difficulties? The CIA and its overt and covert activities? The economic sanctions? The mining of Nicaragua's borders? The attacks on the tiny and simple economic resources of Nicaragua? Or the Sandinist Government? The ill-omened insurgency plots of the United States employ all possible devices to break the infrastructure of the Nicaraguan economy, and then the United States delegation scolds Nicaragua for the devaluation of its currency. Is that fair?

229. My delegation believes that this unsalutary rancour unnecessarily demonstrated by United States officials towards Nicaragua must come to an end before it ignites further turmoil in that part of the world. What the United States Administration is doing against Nicaragua is precisely what has been referred to as State terrorism.

230. I request you, Mr. President, and all other members of the Council—except one, that is—to exert every effort to terminate United States acts of hostility against Nicaragua. As far as I can recall, Nicaragua has always been ready to negotiate with the United States to resolve peacefully any differences that may exist. The United States Administration needs to be convinced that it is peace, love and mutual respect that can guarantee United States interests in the region, not fear, coercion, intimidation, conspiracy and the employment of Somoza elements by the CIA in covert and overt insurgency operations.

231. My Government fully supports the revolutionary people and the democratically elected Government of Nicaragua. We strongly deplore all United States interventions in the internal affairs of Nicaragua. We deplore also any kind of intimidation and use of force by any foreign Power, including the United States, against the sovereignty and right to self-determination of the people of Nicaragua.

232. The **PRESIDENT**: The next speaker is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

233. Mr. de **PINIÉS** (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I should like to take this opportunity to express to you, Sir, my delegation's and my own satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the Council's proceedings this month. I am convinced that your personal and professional qualities will help the Council to perform its delicate task with success. I should also like to extend our congratulations, through you, Mr. President, to the representative of

Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, on his excellent performance as President of the Council in the month of April.

234. The Spanish Government viewed with profound concern the recent adoption of economic sanctions against Nicaragua by the United States. This may constitute a new element of tension in the area and an obstacle in the difficult path to the peaceful, negotiated solution of the Central American crisis.

235. The Central American countries have for more than two years now been engaged in a complex negotiating process fostered by the Contadora countries. From the start this process has enjoyed the active support of the Spanish Government and has also earned the support of the international community as a whole, as is borne out by the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council itself.

236. The Contadora process, which is based on the quest for a comprehensive regional, negotiated solution, constitutes, in the view of the Spanish Government, the only possible means of achieving the pacification of the whole Central American region, which must be guaranteed by stability, development and democratic pluralism in each and all of those countries, in accordance with the commitments into which they have repeatedly entered. The present course of the negotiating process fostered by Contadora could be adversely affected by the measures adopted against Nicaragua.

237. For all those reasons, my Government will continue to advocate the course of regional negotiation, which must have the support of all countries which have interests in and links with the region, as stated in the 21-point Document of Objectives of 9 September 1983.

238. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Costa Rica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

239. Mr. BERROCAL SOTO (Costa Rica) *(interpretation from Spanish):* I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the equanimity and skill that you have shown in the conduct of this debate. I wish you success in your work as President, and I am very pleased that it is the representative of the Government of Thailand who is presiding over the work of the Security Council this month. I also wish to say publicly how grateful I was that you summoned me at one point to your office to find out officially Costa Rica's position on this subject and on the situation in Central America. I wish also to congratulate Mr. Javier Arias Stella, your predecessor, on the fine way in which he carried out the duties of President last month.

240. I shall now read out to the Council the official statement of the Government of Costa Rica on the economic embargo adopted by the United States against Nicaragua:

> "The Government of Costa Rica has carefully studied recent developments in Central America. In this context, it is deeply concerned by the increasing number of elements characteristic of the East-West confrontation which are having a particularly exacerbating effect on the regional crisis. The economic measures adopted by the United States Government and Commander Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow are the most visible signs of the increase in regional tension.
>
> "The Government of Costa Rica recognizes that one of the objectives of the adoption of such measures indicated by the Government of the United States—to bring pressure to bear so that an internal dialogue takes place between the Government of Nicaragua and the political and military opposition—is an objective which the present Government of Costa Rica has supported since it began its efforts. Internal dialogue and national reconciliation in Nicaragua and El Salvador have received and will continue to receive the unstinted co-operation of the Government of Costa Rica.
>
> "We also agree that without dialogue between the parties to the conflict and without national reconciliation it will be impossible to move towards the establishment of genuine democratic institutions. Furthermore, without democratic institutions it is impossible to achieve internal peace and remove once and for all the danger of war between the Central American nations.
>
> "The Government of Costa Rica, having studied the situation, has concluded that it is legally impossible for our country to participate in the economic measures, or in activities designed to give effect to them, or to adopt measures of a similar nature.
>
> "It is the opinion of the Government of the Republic that, if Costa Rica were to act in this manner, it would constitute a breach not only of its obligations as a member of the Central American Common Market but also of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship signed with Nicaragua in 1948 and the Protocol to that Treaty signed in 1955.
>
> "Apart from these legal reasons, the Government of Costa Rica considers that participating in any coercive economic measure would constitute an obstacle to the objectives of the Contadora process. Paragraph 47 of the document to which I refer, which is the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America [*S/16775, annex*], contains a clear commitment among the Central American States not to adopt among themselves coercive or discriminatory measures damaging to the economy of any of the Central American countries.

> "The Contadora process itself has repeatedly emphasized the need for internal dialogue and national reconciliation as fundamental objectives of the process. That is why the Government of Costa Rica believes that these objectives must be attained within the framework of Contadora, and its efforts to bring that about have been expressed yet again in the Declaration of San Salvador, issued on 7 May by the Foreign Ministers of Costa Rica, Honduras and El Salvador and the Deputy Foreign Minister of Guatemala."

I wish to point out that the document to which reference was just made has been distributed in document S/17174, which contains a summary of the agreements concluded last week in San Salvador.

241. Next week, between 14 and 17 May, there will be a new round of negotiations as part of the Contadora process. In this regard, Costa Rica wishes to point out that, while the objective of those negotiations is peace in Central America, the process is also designed to bring about conditions favourable for an effective democratization and proper economic development with social justice and political freedom.

242. None of these goals will be attained unless there is an internal dialogue and genuine national reconciliation in countries which are living in a state of internal warfare. I am not talking just about the pacification of the Central American region, although that is a noble and fine objective; what I am talking about is the need for democratic ideas and freedom to be restored in Central America. There is a need to ensure that opposition forces in any of the Central American countries have a legitimate right to speak out and to contribute peacefully to the process of economic development. There is a need to eliminate State terrorism and totalitarianism, repression and the absence of real guarantees for free political participation. Similarly, there is a need to break down the structures of exploitation and social and economic injustice in Central America. It is essential that it be the Central American peoples themselves which freely elect their rulers in honest and democratic elections.

243. That is what is at stake in Central America and that is the goal of the Contadora negotiating process. The Central American peoples have that right.

244. My country has committed itself to this goal in keeping with its legitimate historic role in Central America. Our struggle, past and present, has always been to ensure that the ideas of freedom and democracy prevail, together with a peaceful solution of controversies through dialogue and free confrontation of ideas, without repression or fear of the oppression of dictatorship, whether a family-military dictatorship of the right or a military, sectarian and totalitarian dictatorship of the left. Hence, our full support for the Contadora process and our renewed position that it is at the negotiating table, with maturity and political wisdom and outside the East-West confrontation, that national reconciliation in the countries in a state of war will be achieved, thus attaining peace and genuine democracy, with freedom and social justice for all the countries of Central America.

245. The PRESIDENT: Before we proceed to the vote on the draft resolution, I should like to make a statement in my capacity as representative of THAILAND.

246. I take this opportunity as representative of Thailand to express my Government's grave concern over the issue of the economic embargo by the United States *vis-à-vis* Nicaragua, which has worsened the relationship between the two countries, with both of which Thailand enjoys diplomatic relations. Our concern stems also from the consequent repercussions of this economic embargo, which can have adverse effects on the ongoing Contadora process.

247. My delegation believes that the Contadora Group's proposal for negotiations among all parties concerned in order to arrive at peaceful settlements with viable guarantees is constructive and conforms to the aspirations of the peoples of the region. Therefore Thailand fully supports the Contadora process of diplomatic and political efforts initiated by the countries in the region.

248. Central America has for so long endured many sufferings and grievances. The nations of the region have had to withstand many acts of foreign intervention and interference throughout their history. They have the right to enjoy the fruits of peace, stability and harmony, free from interference from within or without the region in accordance with their own wishes.

249. History is replete with instances of the exercise of power by the more powerful against the less powerful nations. Our sympathy naturally lies with less powerful countries. In our own part of the world there exists a glaring example of the discrepancy between the powerful and the less powerful and its illegal consequence in the occupation of the weak by the stronger, with further encroachments on the neighbouring country of Thailand.

250. It is undeniable that the economic embargo has exacerbated tensions and complicated the Contadora process. Thailand regrets this outcome, which will undermine the Contadora effort to find a comprehensive solution to the situation. This effort has gained the support of countries of the world, including Thailand. However, it is our earnest hope that the Contadora process will continue and will yield fruitful results in assuring peace, stability and harmony for all countries in the Central American region.

251. And, with all due respect to relations between sovereign States, we appeal to both Nicaragua and the United States of America to resume the dialogue in

order to overcome the present difference between them, as in the Manzanillo talks, which were unfortunately broken off.

252. As regards the imposition of an economic embargo, the Royal Thai Government has voluntarily imposed such an embargo against South Africa, which my Government feels is within its sovereign right to do, in support of Thailand's national interest and the effort of the international community to bring about the eradication of *apartheid* and the sovereign independence of the Namibian people. Such actions are not regarded by my Government as inconsistent with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country, a principle that we fully support.

253. Concerning the present draft resolution, my delegation notes that it is moderate in tone and appreciates Nicaragua's efforts in this regard. However, while we regret the recent trade embargo and other coercive economic measures in this instance, namely, against Nicaragua, as being inconsistent with the Contadora process, wo do not go as far as the wording of paragraph 1 of the Nicaraguan draft resolution. Therefore my delegation will abstain in the voting on the draft resolution.

254. I now resume my function as PRESIDENT.

255. Mr. **KRISHNAN** (India): I have asked to speak to request, under rule 38 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, that the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Nicaragua and contained in document S/17172 of 9 May 1985 be put to the vote. I further request that the Council proceed to the vote now.

256. Mr. **SORZANO** (United States of America): My delegation believes that it is always important to search for and to record areas of agreement. We believe that to act otherwise would be inconsistent with our obligations under the Charter. For that reason, my delegation has listened with great sympathy to the numerous speakers in this debate who have called for a negotiated solution to the problems of Central America and encouraged all parties not to let the spirit of frank dialogue atrophy through disuse. We also note that the draft resolution now before us calls, in paragraph 6, on my Government and the Government of Nicaragua to renew the dialogue that had existed between us.

257. Let there be no doubt that the United States, as a general principle of its foreign policy, seeks the peaceful resolution of disputes through dialogue and negotiations. For that reason, we would very much appreciate the opportunity to demonstrate to the Council the existence of very broad areas of agreement between the position of the United States and that of Nicaragua. To this end, the United States requests a paragraph-by-paragraph vote on the draft resolution before us, so that we may record the substantial areas of agreement which already exist.

258. The **PRESIDENT**: In accordance with the provisions of rule 38 of the provisional rules of procedure, the representative of India has requested that the draft resolution, submitted by Nicaragua and contained in document S/17172, be put to the vote. The representative of the United States has requested that the draft resolution be put to the vote paragraph by paragraph.

259. Since I hear no objection, I shall put the first preambular paragraph of the draft resolution to the vote now. It reads as follows:

> "The Security Council, having heard the statement of the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The first preambular paragraph was adopted unanimously.

260. The **PRESIDENT**: The Council will now vote on the second preambular paragraph, which reads as follows:

> "Having also heard the statements of several representatives of States members of the United Nations during the course of the debate,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The second preambular paragraph was adopted unanimously.

261. The **PRESIDENT**: We shall now vote on the third preambular paragraph, which reads:

> "Recalling resolution 530 (1983), which reaffirms the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The third preambular paragraph was adopted unanimously.

262. The **PRESIDENT**: The Council will now take a vote on the fourth preambular paragraph, which reads as follows:

> "Recalling also General Assembly resolution 38/10, which reaffirms the inalienable right of all the peoples to decide on their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system free from all foreign intervention, coercion or limitation,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The fourth preambular paragraph was adopted unanimously.

263. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote on the fifth preambular paragraph, which reads as follows:

> "Recalling also General Assembly resolution 39/4, which encourages the efforts of the Contadora Group and appeals urgently to all interested States in and outside the region to co-operate fully with the Group through a frank and constructive dialogue, so as to achieve solutions to the differences between them,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The fifth preambular paragraph was adopted unanimously.

264. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the sixth preambular paragraph, which reads:

> "Recalling General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), in the annex of which the Assembly proclaims the principle that no State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights and to secure from it advantages of any kind,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The sixth preambular paragraph was adopted by 14 votes to none, with one abstention.

265. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote on the seventh preambular paragraph, which reads:

> "Reaffirming the principle that all Members shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The seventh preambular paragraph was adopted unanimously.

266. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the eighth preambular paragraph, which reads:

> "Seriously concerned about the increased tensions in the Central American region, recently aggravated by the trade embargo and other coercive economic measures decreed against the Government of Nicaragua which endanger the stability of the region and undermine the efforts of the Contadora Group towards a political and negotiated solution,".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The result of the vote was 13 in favour, 1 against and 1 abstention.

The eighth preambular paragraph was not adopted, the negative vote being that of a permanent member of the Council.

267. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote on paragraph 1, which reads:

> "Regrets the recent trade embargo and other coercive economic measures against Nicaragua which are inconsistent with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and represent a danger to the stability of the region and calls for an immediate end to those measures;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: Egypt, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The result of the vote was 11 in favour, 1 against and 3 abstentions.

Paragraph 1 was not adopted, the negative vote being that of a permanent member of the Council.

268. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote on paragraph 2, which reads:

> "Calls on the interested States to refrain from any action or intention to destabilize or undermine other States or their institutions, including the imposition of trade embargoes or restrictions, blockades or other measures incompatible with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, and in violation

of commitments contracted multilaterally or bilaterally;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The result of the voting was 13 in favour, 1 against and 1 abstention.

Paragraph 2 was not adopted, the negative vote being that of a permanent member of the Council.

269. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 3, which reads:

> "Reaffirms the sovereignty and inalienable right of Nicaragua and the rest of the States freely to decide their own political, economic and social systems, to develop their international relations according to their people's interests free from outside interference, subversion, direct or indirect coercion or threats of any kind;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Paragraph 3 was adopted by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

270. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now vote on paragraph 4, which reads:

> "Reaffirms once again its firm support to the Contadora Group and urges it to intensify its efforts; it also expresses its conviction that only with genuine political support from all interested States will those peace efforts prosper;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

Paragraph 4 was adopted unanimously.

271. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 5, which reads:

> "Calls on all States to refrain from carrying out, supporting or promoting political, economic or military actions of any kind against any State in the region which might impede the peace objectives of the Contadora Group;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

Paragraph 5 was adopted unanimously.

272. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 6, which reads:

> "Calls on the Governments of the United States of America and Nicaragua to resume the dialogue they had been holding in Manzanillo, Mexico, with a view to reaching accords favourable for normalizing their relations and regional détente;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Against: None.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Paragraph 6 was adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

273. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 7, which reads:

> "Requests that the Secretary-General keep the Security Council apprised of the development of the situation and the implementation of the present resolution;".

A vote was taken by show of hands.

Paragraph 7 was adopted unanimously.

274. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 8, which reads:

> "Decides to remain seized of this matter."

A vote was taken by show of hands.

Paragraph 8 was adopted unanimously.

275. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now vote on the draft resolution as a whole, as amended—that is, minus the eighth preambular paragraph and original paragraphs 1 and 2.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted unanimously [resolution 562 (1985)].

276. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United Kingdom for an explanation of vote.

277. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): I should like to explain why, in the paragraph voting, my delegation abstained on what were originally the sixth preambular paragraph and paragraph 3. The original paragraph 3, of course, became paragraph 1 in the resolution as adopted.

278. That paragraph refers to the inalienable right freely to decide on political, economic and social systems. My delegation is second to none in upholding this right, but we must insist that it is a right which belongs to people, not to States. That is what the Charter of the United Nations says; that is what both international covenants on human rights say; that is what the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations says. And indeed that is what the fourth preambular paragraph of the resolution before us says.

279. The Charter refers in Article 1 to "the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". Both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights state, in their first articles, that:

> "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States similarly holds that "all peoples have the right freely to determine, without external interference, their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development." According to that Declaration, all States have the duty to respect this right and "to promote . . . realization of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".

280. These basic instruments, as well as General Assembly resolution 38/10, on the situation in Central America, which is quoted in the fourth preambular paragraph of the resolution, make it crystal-clear that the right to self-determination is one that belongs to peoples and not to States. It is for States to respect and promote this right, but it is peoples which enjoy it. This is a fundamental distinction. We deplore the distortion of this principle in paragraph 1 of the resolution as adopted.

281. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Nicaragua wishes to speak. I call upon him.

282. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I should like on behalf of my Government to express our profound satisfaction with the debate we have had in the past three days, in which the overwhelming majority of approximately 30 Members of the United Nations—with the exception of the United States of America and of two countries bordering on Nicaragua which were compelled to inscribe their names on the list at the last minute—spoke out against the recent coercive measures taken by a major Power, the United States, against a small non-aligned, self-respecting country, Nicaragua.

283. Throughout the debate, we have seen how countries with different ideologies—non-aligned, Western and socialist—were clear in pointing out that such actions dangerously increased the already serious tensions in Central America and that, furthermore, they undermine the peace efforts of the Contadora Group in the search for a negotiated political solution to the problems of the region.

284. My delegation also wishes to express its satisfaction over the fact that the Council has just adopted the draft resolution submitted by Nicaragua. We believe that its adoption, despite the exclusion of three paragraphs, can represent—if all the members that voted in favour truly comply with its terms—a meaningful contribution to peace in Central America. I should like to make an appeal to each and every one of the members of the Council, particularly the permanent members and especially the United States, truly and earnestly to comply with the terms of this resolution.

285. Paragraph 3 of the original text of the draft resolution states:

> "Reaffirms the sovereignty and inalienable right of Nicaragua and the rest of the States freely to decide their own political, economic and social systems, to develop their international relations according to their people's interests free from outside interference, subversion, direct or indirect coercion or threats of any kind;".

Let me repeat my appeal to the United States to comply truly with the terms of this paragraph, for which it voted in favour today. If it really wants Nicaragua to be able to develop its own political system, free from outside interference, it should cease its dirty undeclared war inflicted upon us approximately five years ago; it should stop trying to obtain funds to support the destabilization and overthrow of the Government of Nicaragua, as it has been doing publicly, with the use of official and unofficial funds.

286. I appeal also to all members of the Council, without exception, and again especially to the United States, to be truly consistent with the efforts made by the Contadora Group and to lend their sincere support to those efforts, aimed as they are at finding a negotiated political solution to the problems confronting the region.

287. In the course of the debates in the Council we heard two of the members of the Contadora Group, Mexico and Colombia. If I recall correctly, both deplored the coercive economic action taken by the United States, and they mentioned that those actions undermine and do harm to the Contadora peace process. I would like to repeat my request to the United States that it really support Contadora and allow us, the Central Americans, with the help of our Latin American neighbours, to find solutions to the problems confronting our region.

288. Paragraph 5 of the original draft resolution

> "Calls on all States to refrain from carrying out, supporting or promoting political, economic or military actions of any kind against any State in the region which might impede the peace objectives of the Contadora Group;".

I wonder whether the economic blockade, the military blockade, the financial blockade, the military aggression and, in general, the acts of aggression constantly perpetrated by the United States against my Government are not in fact in contradiction with the aforementioned paragraph, of which they have just voted in favour. As I said, we hope that the United States, as is advocated in the seventh preambular paragraph of the resolution, will comply in good faith with its Charter obligations that it will fulfil in good faith the obligations devolving from its favourable vote on a draft resolution.

289. Therefore, my Government truly welcomes the adoption of the draft resolution and hopes that the United States will fully comply with it.

290. I wish now to make two or three points in connection with the vote on the draft resolution.

291. My Government has once again observed that the United States really is given to the use of its veto power as a permanent member of the Security Council. I do not now fully recall the number, but I know that in recent years the United States has vetoed many draft resolutions—on the Middle East, Central America and southern Africa, to mention only a few areas. But what has struck me most is that for the first time there were three vetoes on one draft resolution. I believe that the United States requested separate votes in order to use the right of veto three times—on the last preambular paragraph and the first two operative paragraphs. The practice of using the veto constantly is so much to the liking of the United States that it tries to do so frequently.

292. Furthermore, I was astonished that the United States—which claims that it is seeking a peaceful solution to the problems of the region, states that it respects the purposes and principles of the Charter and says that it firmly supports the efforts of the Contadora Group—abstained on a paragraph that merely asked for the resumption of the dialogue between the United States and Nicaragua. I am particularly astonished since the Contadora Group, in its declaration of 9 January [*S/16889, annex*], when it celebrated its second anniversary, issued the same paragraph. That is, the relevant paragraph of the draft resolution is the same as that of an appeal to the United States in the declaration that the four countries members of the Contadora Group issued then. We cannot explain how the United States can on the one hand support Contadora and on the other disregard the call of the Contadora Group to resume a bilateral dialogue with Nicaragua that may contribute to the alleviation of tension and strengthen the Contadora process.

293. It is our strongest desire and hope—and this has been one of our main objectives in seeking these meetings of the Council—that the United States may hear the outcry of the international community here, as well as in the many statements of heads of State, foreign ministers, parliaments and individuals. These views were also expressed in the communiqué adopted recently by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement [*S/17163, annex*], to which various speakers referred and which Mr. Krishnan of India, the Chairman of the Bureau, read out [*2578th meeting*].

294. I should like the United States to give serious, calm thought to the new situation that it has created and the total isolation to which it is now subjected, and to take logical measures that will truly help solve the problems confronting Central America. We should like it to choose dialogue, negotiation, the political solution, as the only means to achieve peace in Central America. We believe that there is still time to end the spiral of violence affecting Central America. Mature attitudes must prevail over rash actions and passions; otherwise, we shall be dragged irrevocably into a war that will extend to all of Central America, and in a short time we shall see again in our region the United States Marines, recalling past occasions when their presence was customary in my country.

295. We appeal earnestly to the United States in this body, which has been entrusted with watching over international peace and security, really to tackle the task of finding a solution to the problems of Central America, in other words, to end hostile military, political and economic actions that merely contribute to an intensification of tensions in the region. We believe—and we appeal to the United States along these lines—that it is important for it to realize that it must shoulder its responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council and as a military and economic Power in order to contribute to the solution of problems instead of increasing them or putting pressure on non-aligned countries such as Nicaragua.

296. We hope that United States leaders will really heed the many and unanimous statements made here. We hope their minds are still capable of reflection and that they will understand the reason for their present international isolation and their rejection by their own

people because of the rash criminal policies they have undertaken against my Government and my country.

297. Several speakers appealed to Nicaragua and the United States to resume the bilateral talks. Indeed, I believe this was a common denominator in the debate. I repeat that Nicaragua has no difficulty whatsoever with this; on the contrary, it is seeking the resumption of the dialogue in the near future. We feel that civilized, peace-loving nations should set aside brute force and settle their differences by means of talks and dialogue. In this connection, we believe that it would be appropriate for the United States to adopt an attitude similar to that of my Government and heed the appeal made by members of the Security Council and other Members of the Organization. Regrettably, the unfortunate United States abstention in the voting on the relevant paragraph has cast a pall on the possibility of resuming that dialogue.

298. I reiterate here my Government's commitment to peace, my Government's commitment to the search for political solutions to the problems confronting the Central American region, my Government's commitment to striving to overcome the differences which may exist between us and our Central American neighbours, my Government's commitment not to be the first to use its armed forces against any other Central American country, my Government's commitment fully to support the initiatives of the Contadora Group and to support, as it has done in the past, all necessary efforts, to live up to mutually agreed obligations and to respect and support the verification and control mechanisms which may be decided upon in the security and military spheres.

299. I wish in conclusion to thank members of the Council and the Members of the United Nations in general for the unstinting support they have given my Government in the serious situation we face as a result of the rashness and continuing aggression of the United States Government. That support commits and obliges us further to defend our sovereignty, territorial integrity and right of self-determination. I should like to say to all members of the international community that participated in this debate that brute force will not bring the noble people of Nicaragua to its knees, that military means will not subordinate the heroic people of Nicaragua and that base manoeuvres like those we witnessed today will not halt the realization of our commitment to peace.

300. We have our revolutionary beliefs, the support of our people, the understanding of the international community and the support of peace-loving peoples and Governments throughout the world. These will help us to protect ourselves from any aggression which the great Power to the north may continue to launch against us, whether economic, political or military. The United States ought to learn from history, think about history, and let that thinking form the basis of its future actions.

301. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.

NOTE

[1] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, vol. II, 48th meeting, para. 63.

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